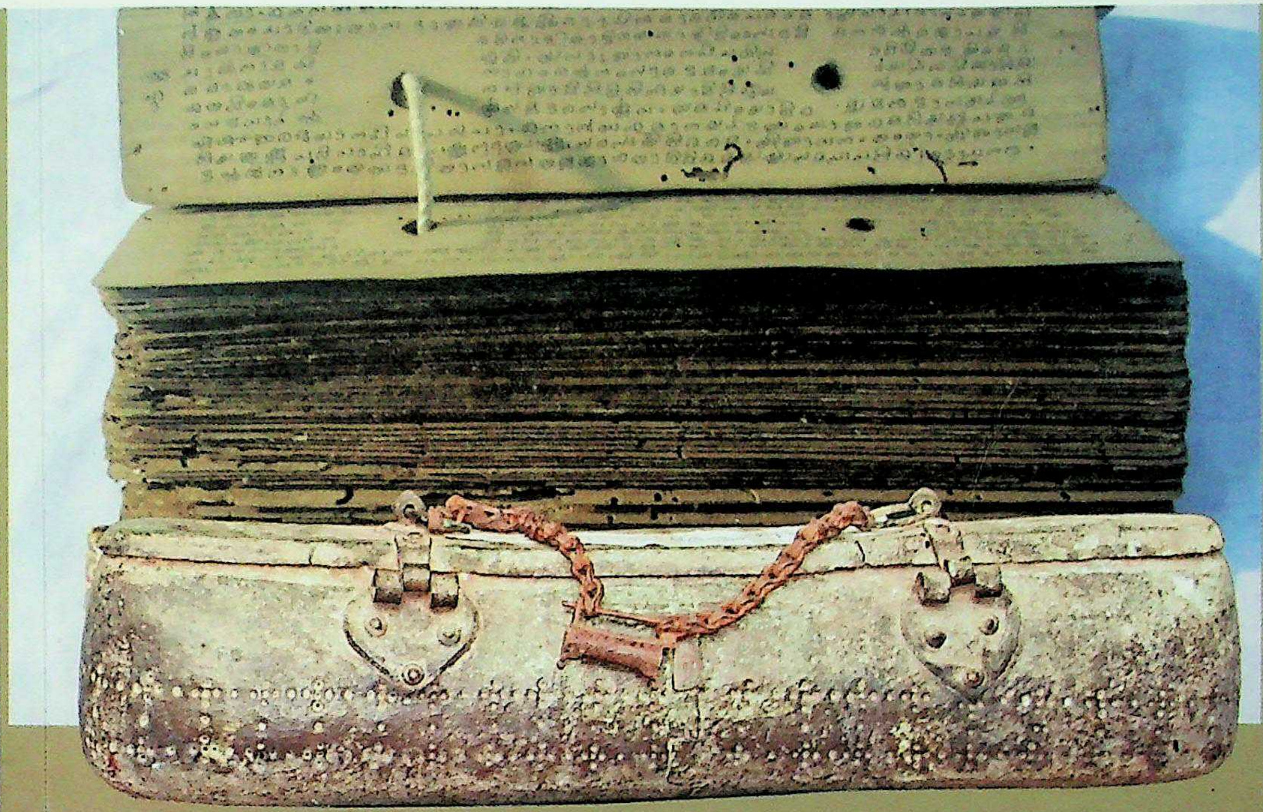
KERALA ARCHIVES JOURNAL

Vol 1 Part 1 Trimonthly

THALIYOLA

An Archival and Historical Research Journal • Kerala State Archives Department

2010 January - March



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THALIYOLA
Kerala Archives Journal

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Government of Kerala
Department of Culture
Thiruvananthapuram

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EDITORIAL NOTE

THALIYOLA, an archival and historical journal of the State Archives Department, Government of Kerala is calculated to shed fresh light on the unexplored areas of Kerala History. "Thaliyola", the palm leaf once remained the writing material to record the events at all levels. Kerala being the land of coconut and palmyra palms provided palm leaves in great abundance. As a result Kerala, the God's own country is having the rare privilege to be the greatest custodian of palm leaf records throughout the world. Palm leaf documents are noted for its variety of information including society, polity, economy, culture and indigeneous medicines. The journal aims at publishing certain select rare documents along with the learned and scholarly research papers of the competent persons on their areas of specialisation.

The Kerala State Archives Department is committed to the cause of management, preservation and publication of documents that are having historical relevance. Since its inception in 1962, being a treasure house of valuable primary sources it renders yeoman service to the researchers, administrators, social activists and scholars who come in search of documents from the different parts of India and outside. The Archives is having administrative, historical and intellectual value. It can be regarded as the golden house of a nation's cultural wealth. Records of Kerala State Archives Department consists of palm leaf, bamboo splints, paper, copper plates, microfilms, etc which are dating back from 15th century onwards.

This prestigious, publication of the Department brings out certain hitherto unexplored sources to the world of knowledge. Document No.1 throws light on the measures undertaken by the Maharaja to ensure the security of the people who lived in the coastal areas. Docouments two and three furnish the government orders to secure the arrest of Dewan Velu Thampi who sacrificed his precious life at the altar of India's freedom. Documents four

and five are very relevant in the present context as well. It depicts the steps initiated by the Government to prevent the forging of documents and indulging in corrupt practices. Document six speaks about the problems of tobacoo monopoly and the collection of customs duties that remained an important source of revenue to the state exchequer. Document number seven assumes greater significance since it deals with the establishment of prison exclusively for women and document number eight points to the dismissal and removal of the First Judge for the fabrication of the records. The nineth document "Travancore Students Abroad" is an important document that speaks about the problems of the Malayalees in England during the pre-independent days.

This most prestigious publication of the Kerala State Archives Department begins with the learned paper "Colonisation and Resistance" by Dr. K.N. Panikkar, Vice-Chairman, The Kerala State Higher Education Council which reflects his profound scholarship. "Archives: A Passion for the Past" by Sri. U. Ramesh, Former Archivist of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, presently working with the State Bank of India, Kolkotha as an Archivist cum Curator unfolds the relevance and significance of archival sources in an age of Information and Technology. "Ancient Writing Systems of Kerala" by Dr. N.Sam, Hon.Director,International Centre for Kerala Studies, University of Kerala explores on the genesis and growth of the Malayalam scripts based on solid models. "A. Glorious Dutch Encounter of Yore: the Battle of Kulachal, 1741" by Commander GVK Unnithan, Indian Navy (Rtd). Mumbai atttempts to unravel the historic importance of the battle of Kulachal in a naval style. "The Kurichiya Rebellion" by Dr.K.K.N. Kurup, Former Vice Chancellor, University of Calicut at present Director General, Centre for Heritage Studies, Thripunithura, Ernakulam harps upon the valiant resistance of the tribals of Wyanad in his professorial style.

An article in Malayalam entitled **"കേരളത്തിലെ സാമ്രാജ്യത്വവിരുദ്ധ പോരാട്ടങ്ങൾ ഒരവലോകനം"** by Sri.Sasi Ampallur, Former Superintendent of the Kerala State Archives Department, undertakes a comprehensive study of the major anti-colonial agitations in Kerala. "Genesis of Leftism and Nationalism in 'Kerala' by Dr. D.Daniel, Emeritus Professor of History, Madurai Kamaraj University is an earnest attempt to link the rise and spread of Communist ideology in Kerala with the mainstream of Communism.

"Tracing the Historical Foundations of the Kerala Model" by Sri.S. Krishna kumar, Asst.Professor of Economics, Sree Venkateswara College, University of Delhi traces the Kerala Model in its correct historical perspective. "Aikya Kerala Movement: A Study " by Dr. B.Sobhanan, Former Professor and Head, Department of History, University of Kerala reviews the circumstances that led to the formation of modern Kerala.

The Department is deeply indebted to Sri. M.A. Baby, Honourable Minister for Education and Cultural Affairs, Govt. of Kerala who is a perpetual source of inspiration in all the noble ventures of this Department. He has evinced special interest in the Archival Publications as he is aware of the worth and value of such publications. We are fortunate to have Dr. Venu.V, IAS as our Secretary who is the virtual cultural ambassador as far as the Department is concerned.

As the chairman of the Editorial Committee Dr. K.N. Panikkar is very keen in bringing out the publications of a very high standard. We are indeed grateful to his highly valuable suggestions. Dr. K.K.N.Kurup, Dr. S. Sivadasan, Dr. K.Maheswaran Nair and Sri. Malayinkeezhu Gopalakrishnan extend their invaluable guidance as the members of the editorial committee at the different stages of editing and publication. On behalf of the Department I record my deep gratitude and sincere thanks to the Chairman as well as to the members of the Editorial Committee.

I am very much thankful to the Assistant Director, Archivists, Superintendents, Junior Editor, Assistant Archivists, Editorial Assistant and other staff members of the Department who rendered their valuable help at all the stages of the publication. Similarly I am extremely grateful to Godfrey's Graphics, Sasthamangalam, Thiruvananthapuram who have designed the cover and carried out the DTP works. Finally the service extended by the Kerala State Audio-Visual Reprographic Centre, Thiruvananthapuram of the Government of Kerala deserves our special compliments.

J. Rejikumar
Editor cum Director
Kerala State Archives Department

COLONISATION AND RESISTANCE

Dr. K.N.Panikkar

The theme of the Paper is colonialism, Subaltanity and Restistance. There is so much of literature on each one of these areas that it is difficult to cover them comprehensively in this paper. Therefore I would not attempt a factual narration. What I am going to do is to attempt a general perspective on what is the level of understanding today about these important issues. The organisers have chosen these concepts possibly with the intention of probing the inter-relationship between the three. If so it is a very difficult thing to do. I am sure that you are familiar with the term colonialism. Your text books would design colonialism as a system of exploitation of one country over another through territorial conquest as in the 18th and 19th Centuries and exploited its resources. Colonisation is still, a reality but its character has changed. The conquest is no more the method. The resources of a country is taken out through other means. Dadabai Nauroji called it drain of wealth in his famous book Poverty and British Rule India. He demonstracted through facts and figures the mechanism by which the wealth of India was taken out. that the purpose of British rule in India the drain of wealth.

Much before Nauroji penned his book, an ordinary clerk in the Bombay Muncipality , Bhaskar Pandurang, wrote a series of articles in a new's paper called Bombay Gazette. In these articles he asked the question about the

character of British rule in India and incidentally of the character of colonialism. The point he made was that British rule was a colonial rule because British drained wealth out of India to Britian. He argued that he preferred the presence of Pathans and Pindaries, to the British because, even if they plundered Indian Village, they spent it within the country. They did not take out the money. So colonialism is a phenomenon which drains money out of the country. This character of colonisalism historians established after 1950.When you read your newspapers in Malayalam normally the writer would say, നൂറ്റാണ്ടുകളായി വിദേശാധിപത്യത്തിന് ഇരയായ രാജ്യമാണ് ഇന്ത്യ. അത് കൊണ്ട് അർത്ഥമാക്കുന്നത്, എട്ടാംനൂറ്റാണ്ടുമുതൽ ഇന്ത്യയിൽ വിദേശഭരണമായിരുന്നു എന്നാണ്. What Bhaskar Pandurang said is true. Foreign rule in India was only the rule of the British, colonial rule is only the rule of the British and not of the others who came before the British. They all took money and taxed people but they spent that money in India itself. Whether it is right or wrong they built beautiful buildings. We have great monuments in India because they have built them. C.Rajagopalachari once said that when the British leave they would leave behind only soda water bottles. Colonialism is a system by which money is taken out, but it is not purely a system of exploitation, but also a system of domination. It is a system of domination and the entire life of the dominated is transformed, identity is reconstituted, cultural identity is transformed. By the end of the 19th and 20th century Indians started looking at ourselves not as people looked at in 17th or 16th century, but in a totally different manner. Have you ever thought of the names of your places. Trivandrum became Thiruvanathapuram now, Quilon became Kollam. Why did the British made Kollam into Quilon? Why did the British made Thiruvananthapuram into Trivandrum?

Why did they do? That was not because they found it difficult to pronounce the names. It was to deny your cultural identity, to create a new identity and it is only when a new identity is created you can dominate. It is part of Colonial domination. In India enormous changes tookplace as a part of the the Colonial system. The best example of the effect of domination is the Indian attitude towards the West. I do not know whether you have heard the name of Nirad C.Chaudary, whose "Autobiography of an Unknown Indian" is a good example of Colonial hegemony. When he first went to London, from the airport he took a taxi. The taxi drivers of London are well known for their knowledge of the geography of the city. You tell them any place in London, they will take you without any problem and they will not ask you how to go there. It is reported that Nirad Babu directed the driver to the destination. The driver did not himself know that Chaudari had never visited London before. An Indian sitting in India had learnt the geography of the colonial metropolis well enough to direct the driver. This is an indication

of our mental slavery. This is a mental slavery that colonalism creates.

To domination that colonisation exercises, how did the Indians react? A large number of Indians believed that the British rule is given as a gift by God - a divine dispensation. We should therefore thank god for giving us the liberal British rule. Many of us still believe that the British rule was much better than the present. They supported the British rule. In 1857, when the revolt took place, you know, what did this class do? The rich middle class gentlemen assembled in Madras, and Kolkata and passed a resolution praying for the success of the British. At the same time the poor and the agricultural workers and peasants rose up against the British and fought against the British knowing fully that they are not going to win. They sacrificed their lives. When the colonial rule was established the resistance against colonolism also had started. We tend to say, when we talk about freedom struggle, that the freedom struggle started in 1885 when the Congress was established.

But the resistance against British had started simultaneous with the conquest. Different types of resisitance, some intellectual resistance, some cultural resistance and others armed resistance and so on. But the resistance even in 1857 which was a massive and powerful fight could not succeed. They could not succeed because of technological reasons. The British were well equipped and had a well trained army. But then right from the beginning Indians strove to resist the British rule. In that there is a weakness among Indians. That weakness was when the British were trying to establish themselves here, Indian rulers , diwans etc. were not able to understand the character of the British. They all believed that British are like any other rulers. The real character, they were not able to understand at all. That is the reason why Pazhassi Raja co-operated with the British when they were establishing their rule in Malabar. That is why a person like Velu Tampi Dalawa co-operated with the British when they were extending their influence over Travancore. Only when they found that what was promised to them was not given and that the intention of the British is different, they became antagonistic to the British and fought very bravely. This is the inability of the Indian feudal classes to understand the process of history. I must say that only two people in the 18th century understood the nature of colonialism. One was Tippu Sultan in Mysore and the other was Nana Fadnavis in Maharashtra. They understood that the intention of the British was not something very small but very large and therefore both of them refused to join the British against the Indian rulers and not only that they also understood that unless techologically India advances there is no chance of resisting the British. That is why Tippu Sultan sent his people to Paris to learn new technology. Unfor-

tunately he did not live to implement that. So the Indian resistance in the beginning was the resistance of the rulers and the rulers were not technologically equipped to fight the British. 1857 failed even before it started. So the early resistance, of the Indian rulers did not succeed and therefore the resistance took a different turn later.

The modern history text books would tell you that the period after 1857, 1860's, 1870's, is not given much importance because not much happened here politically during this period. We start with 1885 or 1890, when the national movement developed as a political force. The period in between is criticised as not without much activity but in the history of modern India, the most crucial, productive and creative period was 1870's and 1880's. You know why I say this. If we look at China in 1840 when the opium war took place Chinese were defeated by the British and it was a massive defeat. Chinese had not experienced it before. But when they were defeated what did they do? The intelligentia was very powerful in China. They were called scholar gentry class. They went into the mountains and analyzed for aboout 10 years the reason for Chinese failure. Why did China fail? Why was China defeated ? For about 10 years they discussed this and found a reason, a reason in their own weakness and said that unless the Chinese reformed themselves nothing will happen. It is thus a result of that the Chinese reforms in 1890's which culminated in the May 4th movement. Some of you might have heard of it. May 4th movement was a comprehensive attempt to transform China. In India in 1870's and 1880's there was an attempt to understand the strength of Indian culture. When the political failure took place, Indians enquired into the traditional culture of India,s into our literature, into our philosophy, into our theatre and so on. What is the strength of India as a nation? This period of enquiry was a most creative period. Unfortunately with the coming of politics in 1885, this quest comes to an end and Indians went into a political struggle which finally ended in the Independence of India. What I am trying to say is that the resistance against the British had, several layers of activity and all these layers did not neccessarily come together but they all were present in Indian society. The resistance to colonialism was part of a process of making the nation. India is still not a nation. The process of making India as a nation is continuing. But how does it happen? How does making of India as a nation happen? The making happened through a series of different struggles against the British starting with 1885 down to 1940's when various streams of activity against the British happened, some peaceful like Gandhiji's Satyagraha, other forces like Bhagat Singh's and Rajaguru's activity, so called terrorist by the British. So this political struggle was one way by which India was becoming a nation.

The other was by looking at our cultural roots. That is the second way by which India as a nation was found and this was a very complex process.

I had started with the question what is India's culture? If you look at the history of India, the culture is defined in terms of the culture of the upper classes. When you talk about the culture of Kerala, till very recently what you talk about Kathakali, Koodiyattam and they became the symbols of culture. But majority of the people in the state do not even understand Kathakali. I don't know how many of you have seen Kathakali. Even if you see, many do not understand the 'mudras'. No schools, no colleges teach 'mudra'. Unless you know mudra you cannot understand at all. But majority of the people of lower castes have their own culture, they have their own dance, they have their own drums. But then that is not the culture of India. When the national movement started looking at the cultural past of India, it necessarily became the upper caste culture of the country. The purpose was to tell the British that we are not culturally backward. We have got Kathakali, we have also got other forms of dance like Bharathanatyam, Odissi, etc. There is also at the same time dance forms and cultural forms of the poor and marginalised people. That is not the culture which we tried to retrieve during the national movement. Therefore culturally Indian national movement acted as resistance to colonialism. Such an elitist view can be seen in religion also. In the national movement there is an under current of neo Hinduism which was propagated by people like Vivekananda and others. India was socially a very differentiated society, not only classwise differentiated, but also castewise differentiated, religionwise differentiated society. What did the attempt to reform the social conditions do? Renaissance is a part of nationalism. There was an attempt to change the social conditions, of which the most important aspect became the freedom of women. If we look at this, social struggles, were mainly conducted within caste or religion. You have reforms among the Nairs, you have reforms among Namboodiris and so on. There is hardly a reform which had cut across all caste and all religions. Therefore inevitably, people started thinking in terms of caste and religion. During the period of historical development in the 20th century caste and religions consolidated themselves. These reforms themselves became caste solidarity movements. You see that in Nair or Ezhava communities. Thus divided consciousness was created in society. As a result of that the subaltern groups had to find their own mode of organization as they were left out of the mainstream. There was a famous case in Calicut in 1911 in which ചാലിയന്മാരുടെ ഇടയിലുള്ള വകഭേദങ്ങളിൽ ഉള്ളവരെ ഒരു സദ്യ കഴിക്കാൻ ക്ഷണിച്ചു. ആ സദ്യ കഴിക്കാൻ ചാലിയന്മാരുടെ ഇടയിൽ തന്നെ താഴെക്കിടയിലുള്ള ചില ആൾക്കാരുടെ വീട്ടിൽ ക്ഷണിച്ചു. അവരെ ക്ഷണിച്ച് പന്തിഭോജനം നടത്തി. പന്തിഭോജനം നടത്തിയ

തിന് ഈ സദ്യ നടത്തിയ ആളെ ജാതിയിൽ നിന്നും പുറത്താക്കി. അത് വലിയ വിവാദമായി മാറി. അത് ഒരു പുസ്തകമായി പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഐകമത്യം മഹാബലം എന്നപേരിൽ താഴെ ജാതികളുടെ ഇടയിലും ഈ വകഭേദങ്ങൾ ഒരു പുതിയ തരത്തിൽ നോക്കിക്കാണാനുള്ള ഒരു ശ്രമം നടത്താൻ തുടങ്ങുകയും ചെയ്തു. . And, therefore, this is not anything like a movement which became anti caste, anti-caste within their own caste movement . The issue is that a large section of population is outside the mainstream. The best example of it is, the 11th Five Year Plan, some of you would have seen it . It starts by saying that the principle of the Five Year Plan is inclusiveness. അതായത് പുറത്ത് വിട്ടവരെ ഉള്ളിലേയ്ക്കു കൊണ്ടുവരിക എന്നതാണ് നമ്മുടെ പഞ്ചവത്സരപദ്ധതിയുടെ ലക്ഷ്യം That is sixty three years after Independence we are saying that marginalised people are to be brought within the nation. So inclusiveness is something which has not happened fully and completely in our making of the national movement.

Seminar on Colonisation and Resistance:-
Speech delivered at Govt college Chavara - Kollam

ARCHIVES: A PASSION FOR THE PAST

U. Ramesh

In early November 1939, the President of the Indian National Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, sent a strongly worded letter to Viceroy Linlithgow conveying to him the Congress displeasure on India being dragged into the vortex of the ongoing World War II. That the Congress chose to give up offices in the Provinces wherein it had been voted to power by the Provincial Assembly Elections of 1937 is a historical fact. But many may not know that the letter was drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru and that the three-page manuscript [of the draft] also bears the handwritten suggestions by Gandhiji and Dr. Prasad, before it was typed and sent. A sight of this letter, an important constituent of Dr. Rajendra Prasad collections in the country's premier archival institution, the National Archives of India (NAI), bring back to life images of three great stalwarts of our National Movement in the above manuscript. While the final letter appears in various· published works, the original piece is unique, priceless and a national treasure.

The wide use of archives and delving into the archival wealth today is closely linked with the change in the perception of historiography and historical method. The data available for a researcher and historian today are extensive and elaborate. They could be contemporary or original, oral history or published works, and much more, or all together[1]. Topics of theses

in history keep multiplying and even micro-topics are concentrated and extensively dealt upon by the researchers with the use of such new data. In an ongoing process the unknown past is constantly being analyzed and redefined with each scholar trying to interpret data and facts with his search and' forays into the realms of past[2].

In the olden times, the Greek historians, Herodotus, Thucydides or Tacitus, had limited purpose in writing history with narration being their hallmark. But in the late eighteenth and more particularly in the early nineteenth centuries when the foundations of modern historiography began gaining credence, the search for conclusive evidence and facts emerged. In the nineteenth century, Leopold Von Ranke, generally referred to as a 'factographist' , made extensive use of archival documents and records to *wie es eigentlich gewesen* [simply to show how it really was], thereby protesting against moralizing of history[3]. The use of archives for a better understanding of history, and the organized setting up of archival institutions varied from place to place, region to region and time to time. The 'paradise of historians', China, had its First Historical Archives set up in October 1925 in Beijing, a city with a *colourful history* of *three thousand years,* although its records were made available to the public only from 1980[4].

The role of an archivist vis a vis a user of an archive he represents for the reconstruction of history is variously viewed and defined. But the profession of an archivist is more a sense of passion for the past and an 'awareness of the present. He need not necessarily be a historian but shall have a clear understanding of the concepts and contents of history and one who could aid, assist and suggest users of archives in their pursuit of finding original material for the study and understanding of the past. The records he lives with are precious links with a distant past, mute but vociferous spokespersons of a bygone phase in human history. By itself a record may not speak but would become active and strong once the historian's search for facts discovers them from closed boxes, dark corridors and bound volumes[5].

In India, NAI was set up in Calcutta in March 1891 as the Imperial Record Department (IRD) by the British Government of India to primarily safeguard the rich documentary heritage of its largest imperial colony. IRD was shifted to Delhi in 1930s and after Independence was re-designated as NAI. After the doors of archives were thrown open to bona fide research scholars, the scope of historical data and historiography too witnessed a major shift[6]. The

proliferation, availability and dissemination of data from archival material, has widened the scope and content of historical methods. No more are the days when the term 'archive' is confused or substituted for archaeology. The process of archival awareness among the students of history might have been slow and gradual but indeed it has scaled heights in the present day. Various publications and exhibitions, open houses and seminars, imparting of trainings and legislations, have all contributed to unravel the wealth of archival repositories[7]. The gamut of users of archival holdings include, in addition to researchers, journalists, governmental and institutional representatives, political and economic analysts and many more.

Apart from NAI, many of the States also have their own archival departments that diligently account for and safeguard the regional, national and pluralist documentary heritage of over one billion people. In the recent past many business houses and Public Sector Undertakings have also taken initiatives in setting up their own archival institutions, some of which also have facilities for the researchers to consult their records. BHEL Archives, Bhopal; Delhi Cloth Mills Archives, Kota (Rajasthan); Godrej Archives, Mumbai; Reserve Bank of India Archives, Pune; State Bank Archives and Museum, Kolkata; Tata Central Archives, Pune; Tata Steel Archives, Jamshedpur, etc. are but a few among them. These institutions have a rich past. Their records have aesthetic, educational, legalistic, precedent and above all, a humanist touch. Specialized Archives such as the National Film Archives, or that of the All India Radio, of newspapers and the like, also add to the variety of the subject. Over the years, various aspects of archival studies have been included in curricula of different institutions leading to the churning of regular professional archivists and allied staff every year. The archivist, whichever organization he serves, continues to be the solemn custodian of the records of his archives, facilitating and supporting the users in pursuance of their end.

With the onset of advanced technology, the proliferation of archival wealth too witnesses a sea change, both as a cause and as an effect. Records in digitized format not merely prevented the frequent handling of paper records, thereby ensuring their longevity, but ensured easy and quick dissemination of data to the users of archives. The storage and servicing of records has now become less manual. Microfilming and imaging of old and fragile paper documents, provision of digitized finding aids, optical character recognition (OCR) method, storage in CDs, spreadsheet files, microfiche or chip formats, specialized storage area, multiplicity of users, scanners and data processing,

etc. have replaced conventional and cumbersome procedures followed in the archival institutions even as late as in the 1980s[8]. Websites and e mailing have facilitated in the quick retrieval and dissemination of data. A user at the other end of the globe could now correspond and gather the precise area of material for his search and research with ease. The visits of archivists to the repositories where the archival records are housed to fetch bulky and dusty volumes for their intending users are also lessened. Two or more scholars can now simultaneously peruse the same record, customizing the characters of the digitized records to his requirements on a monitor, swiftly turning pages, comparing and contrasting two or more records with ease. The new age archives now matches with other components of the electronic era. The old is wrapped under the apron of the new. We have come of age!

In the United States of America R.J. Raack caused many eyebrows to be raised in the 1970s when he advocated putting history onto film as he believed film to be a more appropriate medium for history than written word[9]. Again, a few years later a film made on President John F Kennedy appeared to 'bend and twist' history failing to 'delineate clearly between evidence and speculation'[10]. While it is an innovation to digitize paper records in an archive for their better and effective utility, it would be improper and irrational to portray history as a film or to equate or juxtapose the records of the present day with that of films. The new records that might enter the holdings of future archives could be the records that are definitely orderly, compact and space-saving, easy to carry and copy.

The influx of computer-generated records may upset a conventional Archivist, who would find it hard to shed the heat and dust of the repositories to opt for the cool and air-conditioned arm-chair methods to peruse the records. Manuscripts and paper records giving way to electronic records is indeed a revolution of sorts. But what we seemingly are losing in the bargain is the emotional and aesthetic bond that a piece of the past, a relic of our heritage, may provide for the peer of the present. Like the afore-referred letter by Rajendra Prasad, intrinsic value of a record in original manuscript could bring back at once an emotional bond with the past[11]. A modern-day researcher would be comfortable with a computer-readable or a computer-generated record. To him the events of past is intangible and impersonal. But could the digitized writing seen on the computer monitor provide an archivist the same emotion and sentiment that a paper record, rich with its calligraphic style and classical tenor? A Mughal *Farman* or records on palm-leaves, birch bark, mounted cloth, etc have their own relevance and uniqueness. These records

are a simple, straight and solemn reflection of an age eclipsed by human memory with the passage of time. They are of an age when man had not switched on a machine to move; conferred badges and degrees in recognition of his achievements; settled in properties having stamped and registered title-deeds; flew thousands of miles in hours; made investments for the future; piled up arms to keep peace at bay; or who could record his 'present' for the 'future'. To know and fondle our past could give us a perennial satisfaction that what we are today is because of what our forbears were yesterday.

This does not mean, in any way, advocating a halting of the new means and methods to ensure the free, easy and unhindered flow of information from a digitized format to a diligent scholar. Whatever advances and upward achievements science and technology can scale, it is a fact that our past, and hence our past records, would remain as they are. Our past and our past records are unique. In our quest to adopt changes in portrayal of our old records in the new format, we cannot neglect the old records we have inherited or bypass our efforts to further enrich our collections with more inputs. The quest for acquiring old and antique records shall never be given a go-by. They are the quintessential treasure that the past has given us and what we prepare to pass over to the future. Like an infant being fondled with utmost affection and care by its mother, the archivist shall upkeep the records in his custody. The passion for the past must be undying and ever -effulgent. Users of Archives are bound to bring forth numerous facts and interpretations that with each passing day, with each responsible and impartial dissertation and healthy debates widening and fructifying the vistas of historical knowledge[12]. While we need to put in place technology to propel and propound our archival wealth, it would be unfair to neglect our age-old paper records. An archivist is a conscience keeper of a generation. Its sanctity lies not merely in imaging the available and acquired records, but in ensuring that in the fascination for modern means older material are not negated.

The close bond and affinity of archives with history needs no emphasis. In one of the forceful poetic definitions of history, it is regarded as "the telescope to the past; stethoscope of the present and a horoscope for the future". To such a history, archives could be a rich granary of unadulterated raw material. Its holdings are precious. An archivist is its trustee. Public records and Private paper collections of public men, and even oral history, have all their unique and intrinsic value. No archivist can rest contented that all the material link with past has been acquired. The quest and search for our archival treasure shall always be live and boiling, and even a bit of paper could throw open new dimensions and interpretation of the past. The re-

spect for the past, love for the records, an insatiable passion for archiving our past, and [above all, a willingness and accommodation to carefully safeguard them], along with a popular message that the 'present could be. the past for future' as much as the past is the basis for the present, shall always be borne in mind by an archivist.

References:

1. Records of an archive are essentially original ones and hence the primary raw material for research. But even non-archival records can supplement and complement archival wealth. The two epics, for example, have a lot of historicity in their contents. The Buddhist fables and parables, such as the Jataka stories, have also such a potential. Uma Chakravarti, in an article, "Women, Men and Beasts: The Jataka as popular tradition", describes how these could aid in our efforts for the reconstruction of the past. *[Studies in History*, Jan-Jun 1993, Vol. IX, No.1, pp. 43-70.

2 The use of archival sources for the writing of history of the eighteenth century in India are termed as 'invaluable' for supplying 'the current news in the freshest form', by Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, in his volume, *Romance of Historiography From Shah Alam I to Shah Alam II (Non-European)* (Calcutta, 1982), p. 9.

3 The quotation is taken from E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1980), p. 8. Ranke always believed in the hand of God in history and insisted that historian has a solemn role to perform. The undersigned's Term Paper "Elements of Divinity in the Ranke's approach to the writing of History" submitted for M.Phii Degree, University of Delhi, 1988, may also be seen.

4 For a better appreciation of the archives in China, see Syamalendu Sengupta, "Developed Archives in a Developing Country: People's Republic of China" in *The Indian Archives*, NAI, Vol. XLVII, Nos. 1-2, January-December 1998, pp. 76-82

5 It is argued that any story of the past has a 'double construction and a double truth'. The truth of the tale told is its 'historical truth' while the truth of its telling is its 'mystical truth'. See John Corbin, "Truth and Myth in History: An Example from the Spanish Civil War" in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. XXV, No.4, Spring 1995, pp. 609-625.1n his celebrated work, E.H. Carr devotes a full chapter on the search for and the use of facts by a historian (*op. cit)* . According to him, the facts of history 'never come to us' pure' since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form', and are 'always refracted through the mind of the recorder'.

6 An instance in this regard is V.A. Smith's interpretation of Indian History in the early twentieth century. Much has changed thereafter in the study and approach to the discipline of history with the availability of more data, avenues and innovations. Sumit Sarkar has graphically analysed the new trends in the approach to the writing of Indian history in his article "Popular Culture, community, power: Three studies of modem Indian social history" in *Studies in History*, Vol. VIII, No.2, July-December 1992, pp. 309-323

7 Before the records of NAI were made available for bona fide research, the exhibitions on different themes organized by the Indian Historical Records Commission, set up in 1919, during its Sessions at different parts of India using the archival material served as a rare mirror to the holdings of the Archives. See Rajesh Verma, "Down Memory Lane: Exhibitions at Indian Historical Records Commission Sessions since 1919 — A Review"

in *The .Indian Archives*, NAI, Vol. XLVII, Nos. 1-2, January-December 1998. The inauguration of the Museum of NAI in July 1998 was also a pioneering step to widen the scope of archives among the visiting public. Two articles, Pramod Mehra, "National Archives Museum: A Public Awareness Programme" and U. Ramesh, "A Museology for Archives: Concept and Prospects" (loc. cit), may also be seen in this regard.

8 In a paper submitted at the 43rd meeting of the National Committee of Archivists at Shimla, it was pointed out that in the present era of 'information boom' the Archivists need to be guided by the long-term management and preservation aspects and strive to ensure that the preservation methods and techniques are periodically upgraded. N.S. Mani, "Electronic Records in Archives — A challenge for preservation" inPreserving our Heritage. Papers presented at meetings of National Committee of Archivists (1954--2007) , New Delhi, 2008, pp. 106-113

9 Robert A. Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in words: Reflections on the possibility of really putting history onto film" in *The American Historical Review* [AHR], Vol. 93, No.5, December 1988, pp. 1173-1185. More discussions on the topic in the volume are also interesting.

10 Robert A. Rosenstone, "JFK: Historical Fact/Historical Film" in AHR, Vol. 97, No.2, April 1992, pp. 506-511

11 Though in a different context, Arthur C Parker sounded nostalgic for past records and artifacts when he says, " ... Printed record, tradition and personal memory remind us of our immediate ancestors ... Their tools and utensils are still so warm with their touch that we are kindled with a burning desire to make these evidences of our forbears live in usefulness again ... To read of the past is not enough; we would experience it with its visible artifacts" *(A Manual for Museums.*), 1935, pp. 11-12. Quoted from U. Ramesh, "*A Museology for Archives*" *op. cit* .

12 Gandhiji's visit to Italy in December 1931, wherein he had a meeting with a cross-section of personalities such as Mussolini, Romain Roland, and had almost met the Pope, along with the popular response, intelligence outputs, etc. have been the content of an article by S.K. Millal and Gita Srivastava, in their "An Account of Gandhi's visit to Italy based on contemporary Italian sources" *in The Calcutta Historical Journal*, Vol. II, No.2, January-June 1978, pp. 171-193.

ANCIENT WRITING SYSTEMS OF KERALA

Dr. N. Sam

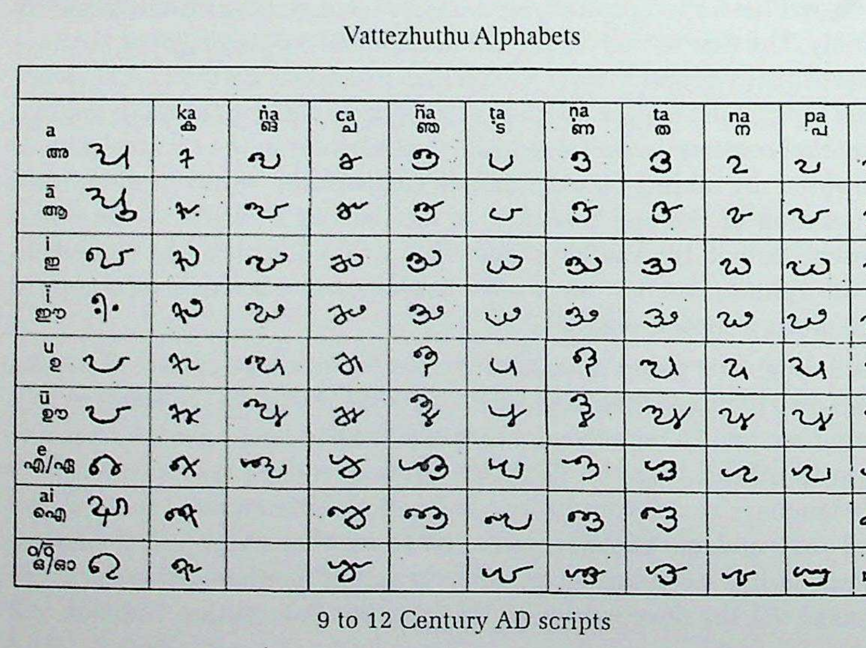
Kerala has a long cultural heritage of its own. But when compared to other Indian languages the language of Kerala (Malayalam) has got a written form comparatively in modern period, ie, in the ninth century A.D only. The first written document available in the languages of Kerala is the Vazhappally copper plate of Rajasekhara which belongs to 832 A.D. Hence we can say that the written tradition of Malayalam starts in the ninth century. Before that communication was made possible only in the oral tradition. It is accepted by all linguists that in any language the written tradition is a continuation of the oral tradition. In fact writing or script is the visual representation of the audible sound. That is why linguists like Bloomfield is of the opinion that 'writing is not a language but it is only a technique of representing a speech sound.'[1]

Each linguistic group or community has formulated a system of writing of their own to record their language. This is the reason for the emergence of different scripts. Though the alphabet of all Indian languages are same it is written in different scripts. There are different writing systems even for a single language in different regions and periods. Sometimes a script of one period may undergo changes, gives rise to another script and sometimes different scripts were existed parallely in certain periods. For example we can point out the co-existance of Vattezhuthu, Kolezhuthu, Grandha and

Malayanma in the language of Kerala, though these scripts were developed in different periods. It is to be pointed out that the Grandha Script has 51 alphabets where as the other three got only 30 alphabets. Any way when a language get written form naturally it gets rigid and permanent. It can communicate with the past, present and future. Hence scripts are considered as the key to open and enter into the world of knowledge and culture. The knowledge and culture of one generation will pass on to the future generations through the writing. Thus the inscriptions and the writing in the palmleaf manuscripts serve as the storehouses of knowledge. By using these writen documents we can reconstruct the past in a scientific way.

Ancient documents can be broadly classified into two categories. The documents prepared by kings, lords or their representatives belonged to the first category. The second category consists of the writings of individual scholars or creative writers. Most of the ancient writings in India were stone inscriptions or copper plates prepared by Kings and Lords. Naturally they constitute the records of rulers or records belonged to temples. But the books prepared by scholars and poets were written in palm leaf manuscripts. Palm leaves were used for writing throughout India and in the neighbouring countries like Indonesia, China, Tibet, Burma and Napal. Palmleaves are easily available in plenty and it is less expensive, more durable than paper and it is very easy to handle also. Five hundred to six hundred years old palmleaf manuscripts are available in our Archives and manuscript libraries

Vattezhuthu Alphabets



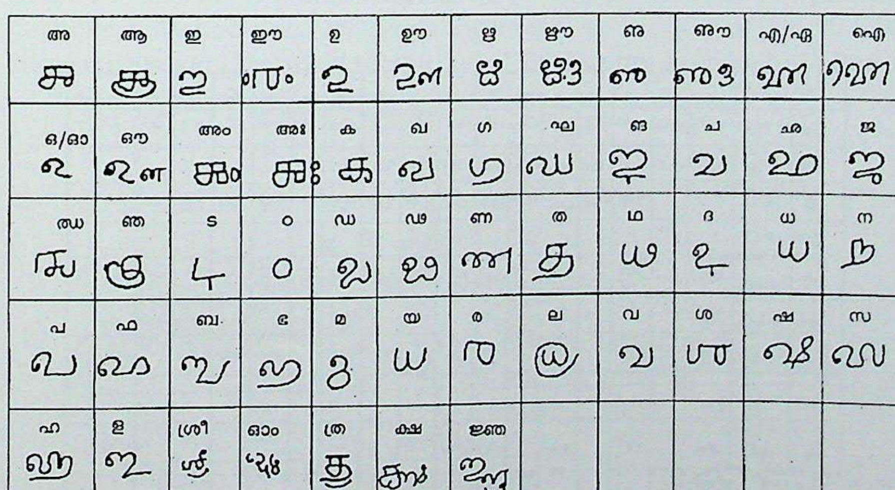
9 to 12 Century AD scripts

with out much damage. Official records land records and horoscopy of individuals were also written in palmleaves. Bamboo records and handmade paper records are also available in our archives.

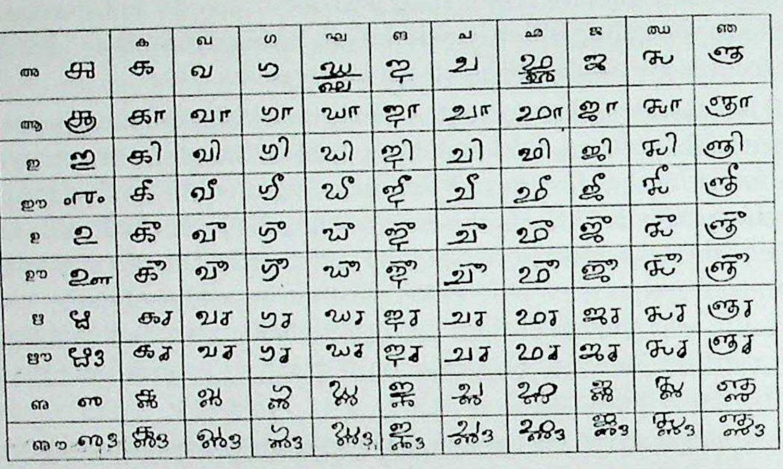
As I mentioned earlier the writen tradition of Malayalam language begins with the Vazhapplli inscription of King Rajasekhara of the 9th century A.D. Three fourth of the first line of that inscription is in Grandha script and remaining part is in Vattezhuthu script. When Sanskrit words occur in the text they were also written in Grandha script. From this we can infer that two kinds of scripts were used in Kerala at the beginning of the 9th century. Vattezhuttu was the script used for writing Malayalam and Grandha was used for writing Sanskrit. These two types of scripts were mixed together to write this inscription.

The scholars are of the opinion that the Vattezhuthu scripts are evolved from southern Brahmi. This script was prevalent in certain regions of Tamil Nadu, Pandya Kingdom and in Malanad. A mixture of Vattezhuthu and Grandha scripts were used for writing inscriptions in the border areas of Tamil Nadu and Kerala.[2]

During the period of Mampally inscription (M.E. 2nd century-AD 10th century) the Brahmin wrote Prakrit and Sanskrit in Grandha script. They dare to use this script in the midst of Tamil of Malanad and among Vattezhuthu scripts to write Sanskrit words. In the Thirvampadi inscription of the 12th century AD the first six lines are completely written in Grandha script and the rest is in Vattezhuthu character. Thiruvidaikattu Temple record

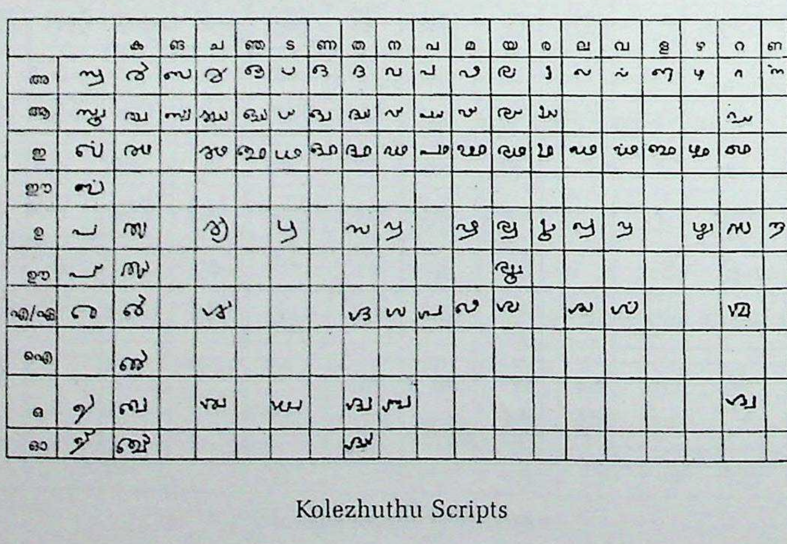


Grandha Script

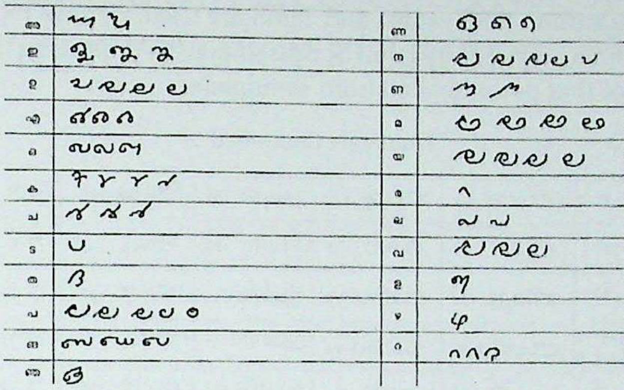


Grandha Script Cont...

of the 14th century is completely in Grandha script. At the same time in Chitheral inscription and Veeraraghava copper plate of the same century certain lines are partly in Grandha and the rest is in Vattezhuthu. In the Kurichi Sastha temple inscription of 15th century not only Sanskrit words but Malayalam words also are written in Grandha script. We could not find any Kolezhuthu or Malayanma script during the period from 12th to 15th century. Kolezhuthu records are seen only after 18th century. After 18th century



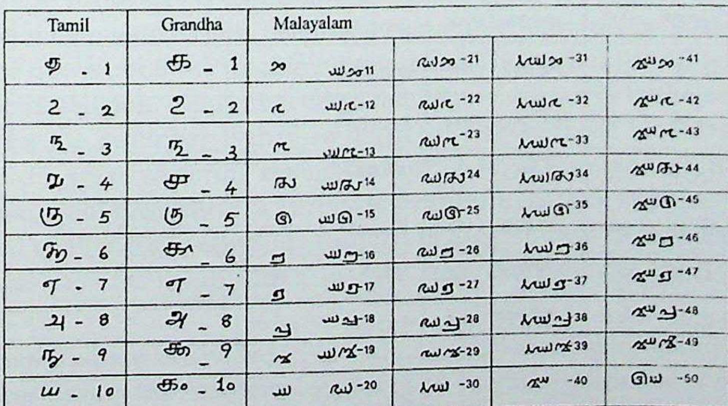
Kolezhuthu Scripts



Malayanma different forms

these three scripts namely Vattezhuthu, Kolezhuthu and Malayanma were parallely seen in copper plate records, palmleaf records and certain paper records with slight variations.

Arya Ezhuthu was evolved from Grandha script with some changes in its shapes. But the number of alphabets in modern Malayalam increased from 30 to 51 by accepting certain letters from Sanskrit. As pointed out earlier in Vattezhuthu the number of alphabets was only 30 like in Tamil. But even after the development of full Malayalam scripts the official records in Travancore and Cochin were written in Kolezhuthu, Malayalanma and Tamil in the 18th and 19th centuries. Though the writing systems like Vattezhuthu, Grandha, Kolezhuthu and Malayanma were evolved in different periods, later these scripts were prevalent till the end of 19th century in equal importance.



Numerals in Malayalam Manuscripts

In the archival records also we can see in each churuna different scripts such as Kolezhuthu, Malayanma and Tamil are used. Certain records starts with Malayanma and ends in Tamil Scripts. It may be the reason that most of the officials of that period hailed from Tamilnadu.

Numerals Continued

-51	-61	-71	-81	-91	-101
-52	-62	-72	-82	-92	-102
-53	-63	-73	-83	-93	-110
-54	-64	-74	-84	-94	-111
-55	-65	-75	-85	-95	-119
-56	-66	-76	-86	-96	-120
-57	-67	-77	-87	-97	-121
-58	-68	-78	-88	-98	-130
-59	-69	-79	-89	-99	-140
-60	-70	-80	-90	-100	-150

-160	-800	-9000	-1000000
-170	-900	-10000	-2000000
-180	-1000	-11000	-10000000
-190	-2000	-12000	
-200	-3000	-20000	
-300	-4000	-30000	
-400	-5000	-40000	
-500	-6000	-50000	
-600	-7000	-100000	
-700	-8000	-200000	

1. Bloomfield, Leonard, *Languages*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1967, p. 21.
2. L.A. Ravivarma, *Pracheena Kerala Lipikal*, Kerala Sahitya Academi, Trichur, 1971, PP 7.

A GLORIOUS DUTCH ENCOUNTER OF YORE: THE BATTLE OF KULACHAL, 1741

Commander GVK Unnithan

The battle of Kulachal, fought between the land forces of the Maharaja of Travancore and the sea borne infantry of the Dutch East India Company forces culminating on 31 V^th^ July 1741 is unique in many ways. This is the first confrontation of a foreign power against any native ruler in India. Not long ago, Dutch marine forces have scored splendid victories over the most formidable maritime power of that time- the British, along the battle fronts in European waters. Such an illustrious army was defeated by a native King, heading a community of reluctant seafarers who looked down upon the maritime profession. The way of life which evolved as Hindu religion, didn't encourage nobility venturing in to the seas- it was only for the *mleschas* if they so desire! It was in those medieval periods when the art of seafaring brought scientific breakthroughs, consequent to the industrial revolution in Europe few centuries earlier. Popularity and the related challenges in seafaring resulted in geographical discoveries and the obvious race for colonization in Asia and Africa during the 16th & 17th centuries.

South India was divided in to regions, small and big kingdoms, and few empires during the first few decades of 18th century. Venad was ruled from Padmanabhapuram (P Puram) and its young prince Marthanda Varma took the reigns in 1729. He had to strive hard to settle down in the hot seat as he

faced several types of opposition from near and dear ones. Several attempts on his life were also enacted but he could out class the enemies of the state and organized the state's affairs with elan. He disbanded the then existed Thiruchirappally regiment and raised a *Marava* army, who were considered to be fierce fighters, and came cheap. This is in addition to the trusted palace guards and the locally recruited *Nair pattaalam*. The treasury was organized and financial discipline was enforced. Various welfare measures for the people were announced. Several irrigation schemes and other public works were also initiated.

Once the home front was secured, the Maharaja ran various campaigns towards the north in order to transform the principality of Venad in to the mighty kingdom of Travancore. He had friendly, relations with Thiruchirappally and expected no threat from South and South East. Nevertheless, the recently recruited rustic *Maravas* were deployed to guard these areas, as the safety of these (Nanchinaad) areas had to be ensured being the bread-basket of the State. All other available forces were pointed northwards, and marine forces were not heard of. Thus the soft underbelly of Travancore, encompassing the coastal areas were unfortunately left unguarded and unprotected with disastrous consequences.

The coast was inhabited by *Mukkuvars,* the fishermen. They were the sentinels at sea and the observation posts. During the SW monsoons fishing came to a halt and the Mukkuvars used to find alternate jobs in land. (This probably would have helped the Dutch in landing unopposed and unreported, as we will see subsequently).

Though various theories have been forth coming, the likely "Order of Battle" (orbat) adopted by the Travancore Forces, a safe assumption could be made as follows:

Strike Forces: Nair *pattaalam* both cavalry and infantry under Kumaraswamy Pillai

Eastern Flank: Poligars of Tinnevely (1000 horsemen) Under the command of Ponnan Pandya Thevan

Western (Coastal) Flank: Nairs with (recently procured) British Fire arms, and

Quilon Garrison:Handful of Nairs under Delawa Arumukom Pillai

Rear Guard: Marava Regiment at Nanchinad and Aruvamozhi

A series of battles ensured- some clandestine and some open. The Maharaja was amiably assisted by his Minister Arumukom Pillai and later by Ramayyan-the Delawa (Delawa= Under Secretary). The Forces were under

the Command of Kumaraswamy Pillai. The annexation of Quilon and Attingal followed, which were not liked by the omni present Dutch, a force to reckon with, headquartered at Cochin under the regional command of MA Maten. They had cordial relations with these principalities and had to oppose Travancore- indirectly initially and in open confrontation as time went by. The Dutch troops (stationed at Kulachal and Quilon) had to be withdrawn to Cochin unceremoniously paving way for the Travancore forces to advance further to annex Kayamkulam. Despite supported by other neighboring states like Kottayam and Changanachery. This obviously threatened the Dutch as they found loosing the sand below their own feet even at Cochin and were forced to seek reinforcements from Ceylon. M. Van Imhoff, the Commander of Dutch forces in Ceylon arrived at Cochin in 1739 to study the situation personally and made a report to his superior at Batavia (now Jakarta) that the Prince was very popular even among his enemies and was sure to rule the entire Malabar coast in the foreseeable future. He however warned the Prince in a personal interview, not to have any adventurism and he may be banished by the Dutch, even if he decided to hide in the mountains.

The Kayamkulam campaign turned out to be an impasse. Some of the reserve Maravas had to be withdrawn from the rear guard and committed to the front lines, thus weakening the already depleted rear guards. All these while, the Dutch were assembling their troops in Ceylon, with reinforcements from Batavia. The Dutch being excellent seafarers had realized the importance of mastering the seas. (This thinking has never occurred to majority of Indian rulers even during the present day. Though occasional strategist like Sardar KM Panickar and Shri AM Vaidya have repeatedly harped on the need for mitigating the threat from the sea, our democratic rulers have not given any importance to it, in spite of26/11.) The mighty Dutch Forces sailed to the Travancore shores and landed in the beaches of Kulachal, Thengapattanam, Kadiapattanam, Midalam, occupied several villages resorting to looting, unleashing terror, arson and enslavement. The unguarded coast and the undefended villages between Kulachal and Kottar fell to the Dutch. The villagers were pushed in to utter despair and disgust.

The Maharaja was in dilemma. The Dutch had already taken Kottar and was nearing Eraniyal, on the road to P Puram, the capital city of Travancore. The Dutch did not have defense in depth nor they never held on the territory gained. It seems that they have become complacent enough to allow their rear to be left unguarded but for their ships riding the waves in the anchorages of Kulachal and Thengapattanam. The continuous lashing of the monsoon would have been the only oppressive element. However, the Maharaja was

unable to fathom these realities as he himself was in deep distress searching a way out of the situation. His presence in PPuram itself was a relief to the capital. He had dispatched envoys to Pondicherry to seek assistance from the French.

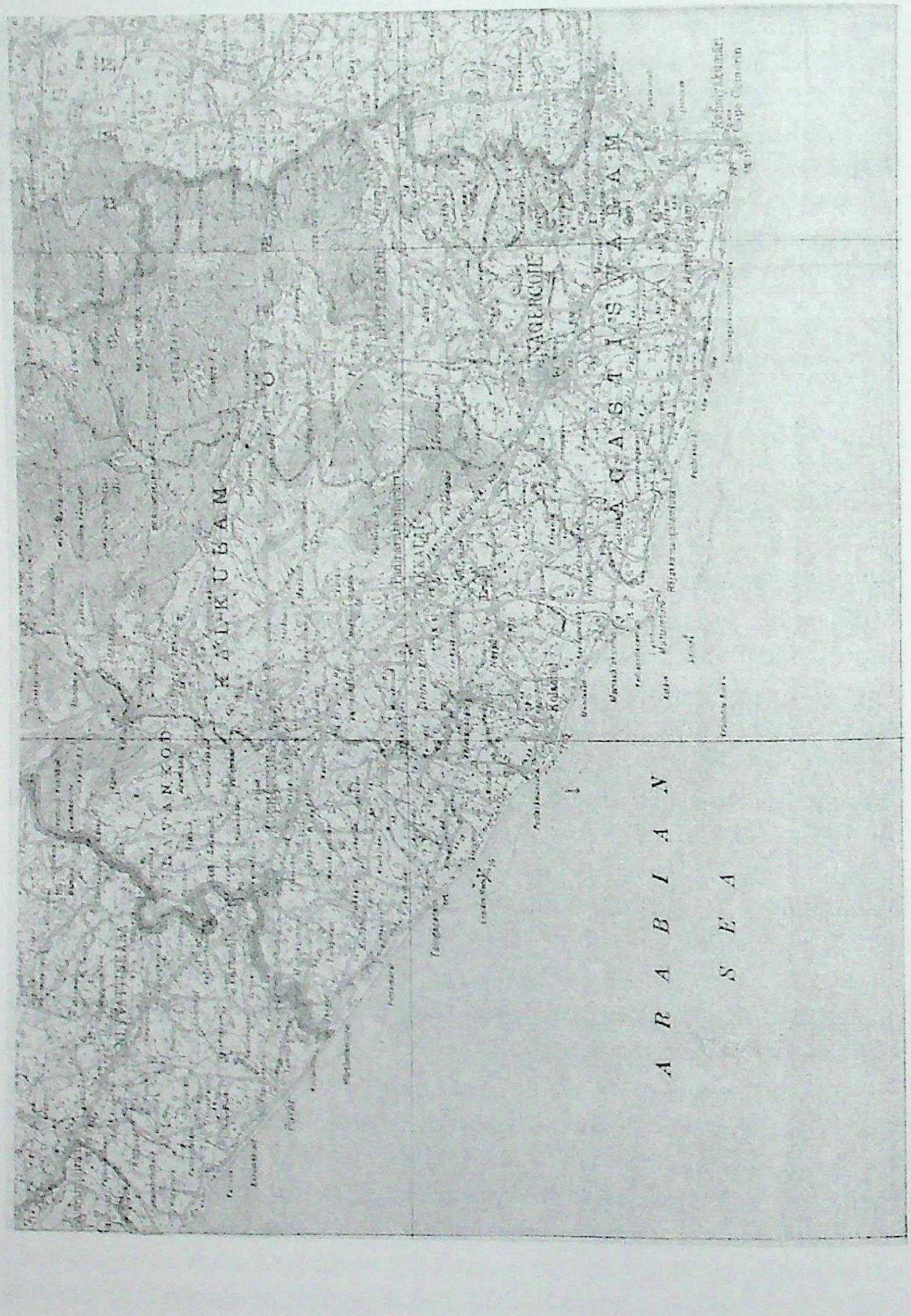
Without a second thought, he recalled the garrison of Quilon and rallied the other reserve Nairs available in and around P Puram. With absolute belief in his family deity, he advanced to contact the Dutch and give battle at Eraniyal. To his great relief, he was joined by none other than Ramayyan Delawa himself, who on hearing the Dutch campaign, had halted the northern campaign and had marched his massive army back to P Puram in defense of the capital. The Dutch were astonished by this sudden turn of events and finding the entire divisions of the Travancore army facing them overnight. They had believed that the capital was thinly defended thus offering a cake walk for the invaders. Contact was made at Eraniyal or thereabouts and the tide turned in the Maharaja's favour. Day long fierce fighting ensued at the end of which the Dutch had to withdraw. By the cover of darkness, they withdrew lock, stock and barrel. They had to run leaving their weapons and even the dead. In fact many historians have described the battle, but they are seldom analysed. The factors favouring the State Forces were not fully understood even this day. Suffice to say, it was a grand victory for the Maharaja of Travancore and marked the beginning of the end of the supremacy of the Dutch in India.

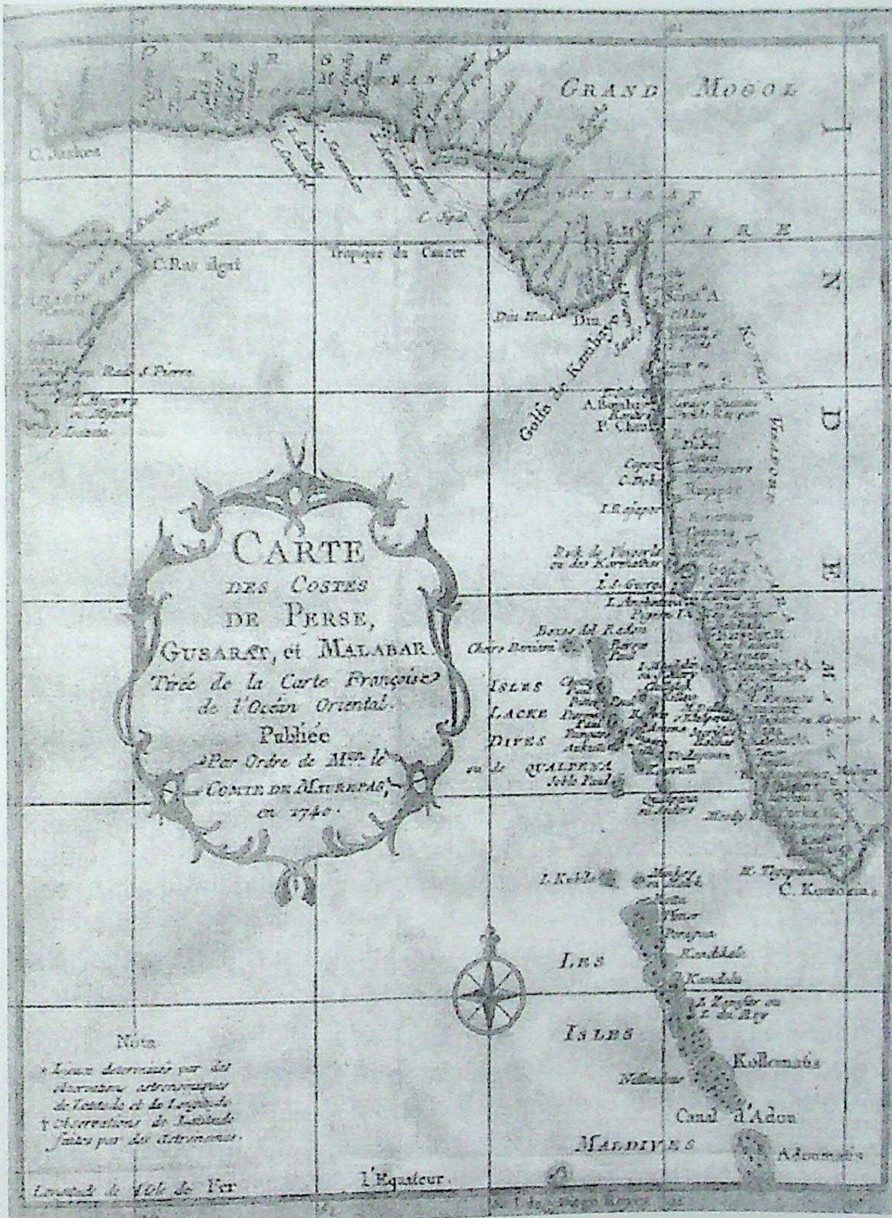
The Dutch were thoroughly defeated. They had left behind their arms and the dead. They grabbed whatever they could muster and sailed away without any opposition at sea. If the Travancore forces were able to sustain at sea, the outcome of the battle would have been different. Twenty four prisoners were also taken. They were treated very kindly. The prisoners were treated and humanly. All privileges were extended. They were regularly visited and interviewed by the Maharaja himself. In one such interview, he realized the military potential of these soldiers especially in the art of gunnery as part of modern warfare. The prisoners were overwhelmed by the kind jester of the Maharaja and promised to co operate. He got them released, drafted them in to the Travancore forces and encouraged them to train and teach the native army. They were grateful to the Maharaja and decided to settle down in the country. They didn't want to go back, nor they were afraid of the reprisal in case of a Dutch come back. Two of them were noted for their contributions to the Travancore army. They were Eustachius De Lannoy and Donadi. De Lennoy rose to the highest position in the army and was often called as *Valia Kappithan*. De Lennoy served for 30 years as per the epitome on the tomb in Udayagiri fort, his residence.

It is said that the Dutch tactics, cleverly used by the Travancore forces were instrumental for some of their stunning victories subsequently. However, one point is intriguing. If De Lennoy was indebted to the Maharaja so much, why didn't he try to change the out look of the Maharaja in naval warfare? He would have known the art of ship building and associated matters- for sure. The forests of Travancore would have yielded all types of timber for the ship building. He was in his service for quite a long period- three decades. Could it be that the *Valiya Kapithan* tried to influence the Maharaja, but the latter never bothered? Or .. he never tried? If so, why? None of the historians has enlightened us on this subject.

This land mark victory for the native King has not been appreciated in the correct perspective nor given the deserving importance. On several occasions the history of India had to be compiled from foreign travelers narratives. One cannot depend entirely on the foreign travelogues either. The narration would have been for his own personal reasons and not necessarily independent or impartial. Though ancient Indians are credited for several discoveries and inventions in the past, we had to wait until some one else to tell us that. In other words, we were forced to believe what *that some one* has told us with its obvious distortions.

There are reasons to believe that British historians have accorded undue importance for all British victories over native kings— Plassy war, Carnatic wars and even tragedies like 1857 first war of independence publicized as sepoy mutiny and the distorted version of the Jaianwala Bagh while conveniently forgetting the accolades of Tipu Sultan and the like. The battle of Kulachal was also mentioned in passing- not only by the British, even by the Indian historians before and after the independence. However, Earl Mountbatten, the first Governor General of India has complemented the Maharajah of Travancore in his letter dated 22nd July 1947 *that-In passing, may* 1, *as a sailor, pay tribute to the fact that Travancore is the only Indian Country to have inflicted a naval defeat on a European navy (I am glad to say not the British)* .. Is any better compliment required for a fine army under a fine command?


KALKULAM
NAGERCOIL
AGASTISWARAM
ARABIAN
SEA


GRAND MOGOL
EMPIRE
Tropique du Cancer
INDE
Golfe de Kambaye
CARTE
DES COSTES
DE PERSE,
GUSARAT, et MALABAR
Tirée de la Carte Françoise
de l'Océan Oriental.
Publiée
Par Ordre de Mgr. le
COMTE DE MAUREPAS,
en 1740.
ISLES
LACKE
DIVES
ou de QUALPENA
LES
ISLES
MALDIVES
Nota
Canal d'Adou
l'Equateur

THE KURICHIYA REBELLION

Dr. K.K.N. Kurup

In 1812, the tribals in Wayanad rose *enmasse* against the British. Some of them had been the followers and loyalists of the Pazhassi Raja. They were again participants in another rebellion and making themselves ready to sacrifice their lives. This revolt which continued for only a short span of two months was exclusively initiated and organised by the tribals under their own leadership. The two communities mainly involved in it were the Kurichiyas and the Kurumars.

Although this rebellion was localised in and around Mananthavady, Panamaram and Kaniyampatta, as a major tribal revolt, it has its own significance in the history of Wayanad. It was a continuation of the Pazhassi Rebellion by the tribal community of the Kurichiyas.

After the Pazhassi rebellion, the properties owned by the rebels were confiscated by the Company. The revenue *"Paimash"* introduced by Rickards was continued by Thomas Warden, the principal collector of Malabar. On rice gounds, after deducting from the gross produce the quantity for cultivation expenses, the balance was divided among the tenant and landlord and the Company. The tenant was assigned one-third as his profit, and the residue was divided in the proportion of six-tenths to the Company and four - tenths to the landlord or proprietor. Then it was converted into money rates

under consideration of local value. The revenue paimesh sanctioned by Warden varied from group of villages to villages.

The valuation of money rate and calculation of gross produce and seed measurement, etc depended on considerable variations. The economic self sufficiency based on paddy cultivation was lost for the Kurchiyas. There were no persons to purchase their crops as cash economy had not grown sufficiently in Wayanad. They were put to untold miseries as a warrior class against the British. The revenue payment was enhanced at least by 10 percent by Thomas Warden of each individual. The revenue officers practised rapacity and wanton oppression on the tribal community. Many of the paddy cultivators from this community became defaulters of revenue payment. Their properties both movable and immovable were sold in auction. Further all sorts of cruelties were practised on them by the revenue collectors. They were often seized and made to serve as slaves by the revenue officials and the English. Any refusal to work under them met with serious punishment.

The inequality in assessment and the disparity in the prevailing market price became a major source of peasant frustration and distress. One of the letters sent to the revenue officials highlight the burden of tax and its conversion into payment of money. It stated: "The Honourable Governor in Council, you will observe, in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the Wayanad district desires its exponents to authorise the substitution of rents in kind in lieu of money payment as suggested by you in your letter of the 1st instant, and the Board accordingly direct that you will take necessary steps for carrying the measure into execution".

"The land revenue of the district is certainly light, but as the district has perhaps from necessity been left very much to the native management. It is not improbable that some malpractices on the part of the native revenue officers may have combined with the difficult experience of indisposing of the produce of the land to create the discontent which has been recently manifested".

In fact the disparity in the government rate and the prevailing market rate for conversion of produce in kind to money for purpose of revenue payment was major source for agrarian discontent in the district. Further the stubbornness of the Malabar Collector and his officers in the collection of revenue created a tendency of resistance and aggressive behaviour on the part of the people of Wayanad in 1812.[5]

The Kurichiyas and the Kurumars held secret consultation and rose in armed revolt once again in Wayanad in 1812. The aim of the rebels was to expel the Watta Toppikkar (rounded hatmen) from the country. The tribals

organised themselves and enlisted supporters for the war from the disaffected revenue servants and local officials. Many kolkkars from the Kurichiyas and the Kurumas left their jobs and joined the rebels.

James Tagg who was stationed in Wayanad with two companies of forces was totally unaware of the secret plannings of the Kurichiyas and the Kurumas. The actual beginning of the revolt was on 25th March 1812. The rebels assembled at a place, Karachanchal in the Kurichippad hills and disarmed two kolkars who had gone there for revenue collection. Prior to this the Kurichiyas and the Kurumas had assembled at Nallurnad to discuss their grievances. The kolkkars disbursed this meeting with force. Subsequently they attacked the police. The rebels issued orders in the name of Murikkanmar (Lava-Kusa) of Pulppalli to the inhabitants and requested them to take up arms against the Company. They sent small groups to enforce the orders. Within two days it spread to different parts of Wayanad. All roads in the vicinity of Mananthavady were guarded by the rebels and they stopped the supplies to the troops.

They took possession of strategic passes to Wayanad as a matter of defensive strategy. The Kuttiyadi Pass was occupied by a group of rebels under the leadership of Plaka Chandu. Ayiraveettil Kontappan, Mambilattodan Yamu, and others prevented the arrival of the British forces to Wayanad. Baber on 1st April 1812 wrote that the "insurgents are assembled in considerable numbers and are in possession of all passes leading to Wayanad. They are said to be two or three hundred in the Coteady Gaat[6]."

The rebels made arrow blades from the iron railings pulled out of the bridges. They regularly informed the nephew of the late Pazhassi Raja, a state prisoner in Travancore, of the course of events in Wayanad. It also spread the news that he would come to Wayanad to make it free from the British occupation. Thus Baber wrote to the British Resident of Travancore to keep a close watch on the prince. Such aspects reveal the inherent desire of the tribal community to be independent from the foreign rule. Due to the rebellion in Wayanad the nephew of the late Pazhassi Raja was sent to Chingelpet and was released only in 1815.

The police establishments in many places joined the rebels. The Porkady post was abandoned by them for favouring the rebels. Baber reported: "The whole of the Coorcher and Cormar part of the establishment with the exception of Rama Moopa and the others had actually had taken part in the late insurrection". The army in Wayanad was incapable to suppress the rebellion. Lt.James Tagg was crippled by the rebel militia. Baber wrote to Lockhart, officer commanding in Malabar and Canara,: "Pray send Captain Walker or some equally intelligent and active officer to look after the supply depart-

ment and also an additional company of sepoys, and if you have no objection a few more Europeans. We shall have a good deal of opposition in the Ghaut, and the country is also extremely strong in many places between this and Mananthavady".

.When there was a general uprising in the northern division of Wayanad. Baber further sought assistance from Seringapatam. The British Resident in Mysore detached 2000 Mysore troops to protect the Mysore-Wayanad borders. Lt.Col.Webber and his second battalion of Kannur were attacked by the rebels while ascending the Kuttiyadi Pass. Webber moved to Mananthavady and relieved on 9th April the forces of Capt.Tagg. Then this battalion could hold outposts at Panamaram, Porkady, Pakkam, Moodramolly and Bathery and strengthen them with arms and guards. His Majesty's forces at Seringapatam were detached under the command of Major Welsh. Later Welsh admitted that his troops were no match to the Kurichiyas.

The Company forces marched through the length and breadth of Wayanad and terrorized the people. The Kurichiyas and Kurumbars were attacked and killed in their settlements. The houses everywhere were arsoned, with total vengeance against the rebels. Welsh described that Raman Namby was the most feared of the rebel leaders. He was betrayed by his followers and killed. His head was brought to Baber on 1st May and it was recognised. His son and other family members were seized a few days earlier. Namby's people themselves shot him in the neck with an arrow. After the death of Venkalone Kelu, there was no proper leadership for the rebellion.

By 8th May there were about fifty rebels here and there without making a surrender to the British. The forces could not capture them also. But only three or four were really fearful in their activities in this group. Although the rebellion continued only for two months it was a total disturbance in Wayanad. The rebels created heavy casualties on the side of the British army. The British were afraid of the possession of the region by the rebels. The British records highlighted that there was "indeed ground to apprehend that all the inhabitants in the parts of Wayanad are inclined to favour the cause of the insurgents".

It was one of the major tribal revolts in South India. The cultivating peasants and other labouring classes who identified their grievances, fought against the British being organised by themselves. They were not spontaneous revolts, but were properly planned and calculated by the tribals. They instigated all the inhabitants to join them, but the landed aristocratic class did not participate in the insurrections. Some of such sections acted as collaborators in the suppression of the rebellion. The rebels requested all the inhabitants to join their cause in the name of "Murikkanmar" (deities). They also

adhered to the commands by the oracles. When their traditional life system was challenged they fought against the colonialists in their own traditional way along with the traditional belief system. They found that the cultural pattern of "round hat" (Vatta Thoppi) people was against their traditional culture. As such they projected a cultural confrontation also as a cause for the rebellion.

As it was a rebellion participated by a whole community, even its local leaders were not remembered by the later generations. Even the identity of the leaders like Raman Namby had gone into oblivion forever. Such names are remaining only in the British records and military consultations and not in the memory of the Kurichiya community or in the traditions of other tribal communities. All the characteristics of a peasant uprising could be seen in this rebellion. It was a continuation of the Pazhassi rebellion mainly participated by the small peasants and agricultural labourers. It was not engineered by the feudal class for certain concessions and benefits. It was not a vengeance against the class and the foreigners in power and authority by the depressed peasants and tribals. Although its history was forgotten and it was treated as an insignificant event by William Logan and many others like Welsh the Kurichiya rebellion was a major event in the history of Wayanad.

Only after the suppression of the Pazhassi and the Kurichiya rebellions, the British could establish their authority over Wayanad. Within a period of two decades, Wayanad became a suitable and eco-friendly region for capital investment and capitalist mode of production in mono-agriculture of cash crops. Its fertile land and cheap labour and promising climatic condition were further exploited by the colonial masters for achieving high profit in the international market. In terms of loss and profit, the men and money spent by the British Raj for keeping up Wayanad in its colonial system finally turned to be a profitable enterprise for the Raj and its multinational joint stock companies. They could convert this malaria affected forest land into a land of wealth and rich resources.

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കേരളത്തിലെ സാമ്രാജ്യത്വവിരുദ്ധ പോരാട്ടങ്ങൾ: ഒരവലോകനം

ശശി ആമ്പല്ലൂർ

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights"

-Anonymous-Universal Declaration of Human Right-Article-I

അതിപുരാതന കാലം മുതലേ നാടുവാഴിത്തത്തിലൂടെയുള്ള കേന്ദ്രീകൃത രാജാധിപത്യമാണ് കേരളത്തിൽ നിലവിലിരുന്നത്. ധാരാളം നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഓരോ നാടും ഓരോ രാജാവിന്റെ കീഴിലും ആയിരുന്നു. ഒന്നാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടുമുതൽ ചേരരാജാക്കന്മാരായിരുന്നു കേരളാധിപന്മാർ. അന്നും വികേന്ദ്രീകൃതമായ അർധഫ്യൂഡൽ ഭരണമായിരുന്നു നിലനിന്നത്. നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളുടെ മേൽ നിയന്ത്രണം ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി കപ്പം സ്വീകരിച്ചിരുന്നു ചേര ചക്രവർത്തിമാർ. പതിനൊന്നാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിൽ രണ്ടാം ചേരസാമ്രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ തകർച്ചയോടുകൂടി നാടുവാഴികൾ സ്വതന്ത്ര ഭരണാധികാരികളായി. സ്വതന്ത്രരായ നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങൾ യുദ്ധത്തിലേർപ്പെട്ടു മിക്കവാറും നശിച്ചു. ഇതിനിടെ വിദേശശക്തികളുടെ ആധിപത്യശ്രമം ആരംഭിച്ചിരുന്നു. അവസാനം തിരുവിതാംകൂർ, കൊച്ചി, മലബാർ എന്നീ ഭരണഘടകങ്ങൾ മാത്രം നിലനിന്നു. ഈ നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങൾക്കും ദീർഘകാലം വിദേശശക്തികളോട് പോരാടേണ്ടിവന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. പതിനെട്ടാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിന്റെ അവസാനത്തിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും കൊച്ചിയിലും മലബാറിലും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ആധിപത്യം നിലവിൽവന്നു.

മലബാറിൽ നേരിട്ടും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും കൊച്ചിയിലും നാട്ടുരാജാക്കന്മാരിലൂടെയും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ അധികാരം പിടിച്ചടക്കിയത് ശക്തമായ എതിർപ്പുകളെയും പോരാട്ടങ്ങളെയും നേരിട്ടുകൊണ്ടായിരുന്നു. പതിനെട്ടാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിന്റെ അവസാന

വർഷങ്ങളിലും പത്തൊമ്പതാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിന്റെ ആദ്യവർഷങ്ങളിലും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും കൊച്ചിയിലും മലബാറിലും നിരവധി ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് വിരുദ്ധ പോരാട്ടങ്ങൾ അരങ്ങേറി. ഈ പ്രതിഷേധങ്ങളും പോരാട്ടങ്ങളുമാണ് പിന്നീടുണ്ടായ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യസമരങ്ങൾക്ക് വിത്തുപാകിയത്. രാജാധിപത്യത്തിൽ നിന്ന് ജനാധിപത്യത്തിലേക്ക് ഒരു ജൈത്രയാത്രയ്ക്ക് രണ്ടായിരം വർഷത്തെ ചരിത്രമുണ്ട്.

ഓരോ പോരാട്ടവും സമൂഹത്തിലെ ഉഴുതുമറിക്കലുകളാണ്. നിലവിലുള്ള വ്യവസ്ഥിതിയെ പൊളിച്ചുപണിയാനും നവീകരിക്കാനും അവ കാരണമാകുന്നു. അനീതി, അവഗണന, അടിച്ചമർത്തലുകൾ എന്നിങ്ങനെ പല ഘടകങ്ങൾ പ്രമുഖ പ്രക്ഷോഭങ്ങൾക്കു കാരണമായി. കേരളത്തിൽ നടന്ന സാമ്രാജ്യവിരുദ്ധ പോരാട്ടങ്ങളുടെ ചരിത്രഭൂമികയിലേക്കുള്ള ഒരെത്തിനോട്ടത്തിനാണിവിടെ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നത്.

അഞ്ചുതെങ്ങു കലാപം-1697

തിരുവനന്തപുരം ജില്ലയിലെ ആറ്റിങ്ങലിനടുത്ത് അഞ്ചുതെങ്ങിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരുടെ സൈനികോപകരണ നിർമാണ ഫാക്ടറിക്കെതിരെ സ്ഥലവാസികൾ നടത്തിയ ആക്രമണമാണ് ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ആധിപത്യത്തിനെതിരെ നടന്ന ആദ്യത്തെ കലാപം. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്ക് ആറ്റിങ്ങൽ റാണിയിൽ നിന്നു ലഭിച്ച അഞ്ചുതെങ്ങിൽ അവർ കോട്ടയും ഫാക്ടറിയും ആരംഭിച്ചു. തുടർന്ന് അഞ്ചുതെങ്ങ് ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരുടെ പ്രധാനസങ്കേതമായി മാറി. ഫാക്ടറി നിർമിക്കുന്നതിനും മറ്റുമായി റാണി ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്ക് കൂടുതൽ സൗജന്യങ്ങളും ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങളും അനുവദിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. സ്ഥലവാസികളെ ഇത് പ്രകോപിപ്പിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. 1697-ൽ അവർ സംഘടിതമായി ഫാക്ടറി ആക്രമിച്ചു. എന്നാൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സൈനികശക്തിയ്ക്കു മുന്നിൽ നാട്ടുകാർക്ക് പരാജയം സമ്മതിച്ചു പിന്തിരിയേണ്ടിവന്നു.

ആറ്റിങ്ങൽ കലാപം-1721

ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് അധിനിവേശത്തിനെതിരെ ഇന്ത്യയിൽ നടന്ന ആദ്യത്തെ സംഘടിത പോരാട്ടമാണ് 1721-ലെ ആറ്റിങ്ങൽ കലാപം. അഞ്ചുതെങ്ങിലെ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് കച്ചവടക്കാരും പരിസരപ്രദേശങ്ങളിലെ ജനങ്ങളും തമ്മിൽ നടന്ന ഏറ്റുമുട്ടലാണ് ആറ്റിങ്ങൽ കലാപം എന്ന പേരിൽ അറിയപ്പെടുന്നത്. അഞ്ചുതെങ്ങിലെ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് കച്ചവടക്കാരും മുസ്ലിം കച്ചവടക്കാരും തമ്മിൽ കുരുമുളകുവ്യാപാരത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ കനത്ത മത്സരം നടന്നുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് കച്ചവടക്കാരുടെ നേതാവ് ഗിഫോർഡായിരുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ധാർഷ്ട്യവും സ്വാർത്ഥതയും നിറഞ്ഞ പെരുമാറ്റം ജനങ്ങളിൽ ശത്രുത ഉളവാക്കി. നാട്ടുകാരുടെ അമർഷം വളരുന്നതറിഞ്ഞ ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ വർഷംതോറും ആറ്റിങ്ങൽ റാണിക്ക് വിലപ്പെട്ട പാരിതോഷികങ്ങൾ നൽകി റാണിയുടെ പ്രീതി സമ്പാദിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിരുന്നു.

ആറ്റിങ്ങലിലും സമീപപ്രദേശങ്ങളിലും അധികാരികളായിരുന്ന പിള്ളമാരുടെ പ്രതിനിധികൾ ഇതിൽ അർഷം പ്രകടിപ്പിക്കുകയും റാണിക്കുള്ള സമ്മാനങ്ങൾ തങ്ങൾ മുഖേന മാത്രമേ റാണിക്കു സമർപ്പിക്കാവൂ എന്ന് ആവശ്യപ്പെടുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഈ നിർദ്ദേശം ഗിഫോർഡിനു സ്വീകാര്യമായില്ല. റാണിക്കു നേരിട്ടു സമ്മാനങ്ങൾ സമർപ്പിക്കാനായി ഗിഫോർഡ് 140 ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരടങ്ങിയ ഒരു സംഘവു

മായി ആറ്റിങ്ങലിലേക്ക് യാത്രതിരിച്ചു. ഇത് നാട്ടുകാരെ പ്രകോപിപ്പിക്കുകയും അവർ സംഘടിതമായി ആ സംഘത്തെ ആക്രമിച്ച് മുഴുവൻ പേരെയും കൊലപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഈ സംഭവം നടന്നത് 1721 ഏപ്രിൽ 5-ന് ആയിരുന്നു. തുടർന്ന് ജനങ്ങൾ അഞ്ചുതെങ്ങിൽ ചെന്നു കോട്ട വളഞ്ഞു. ഏകദേശം ആറുമാസത്തോളം അവർ കോട്ട ഉപരോധിച്ചു നാശനഷ്ടങ്ങൾ വരുത്തി. തലശ്ശേരിയിൽ നിന്ന് ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാരുടെ ഒരു വലിയ സൈന്യം വന്നതോടെയാണ് ഉപരോധം അവസാനിപ്പിച്ചത്. തുടർന്ന് റാണിയും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരും തമ്മിൽ 1722-ൽ ഒരു കരാറിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടു. ആറ്റിങ്ങൽ കലാപത്തിലെ നേതാക്കന്മാരെ ശിക്ഷിക്കാമെന്നും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കുണ്ടായ നാശനഷ്ടങ്ങൾക്കു പരിഹാരം നൽകാമെന്നും വ്യവസ്ഥയുണ്ടാക്കി. ഇഷ്ടമുള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്കെല്ലാം വ്യാപാരശാലകൾ സ്ഥാപിക്കാനുള്ള അവകാശവും കുരുമുളകു കച്ചവടത്തിന്റെ കുത്തകയും ഈ കരാറിലൂടെ ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാർക്കു ലഭിച്ചു.

കുളച്ചൽ യുദ്ധം-1741

1721-ൽ മാർത്താണ്ഡവർമ്മയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലാണ് ആധുനിക തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഉദയം ചെയ്തത്. പിള്ളമാരുടെയും യോഗക്കാരുടെയും നേതാക്കളെ അദ്ദേഹം അടിച്ചമർത്തി. അയൽ രാജ്യങ്ങളെ വെട്ടിപ്പിടിച്ചു തിരുവിതാംകൂറിനോടു ചേർത്തു. മാർത്താണ്ഡവർമ്മയുടെ ഉയർച്ച ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്ക് അസഹനീയമായിരുന്നു. മാർത്താണ്ഡവർമ്മ എളയടത്തു സ്വരൂപത്തിലെ റാണിയുടെ സിംഹാസനാരോഹണത്തെ എതിർത്തപ്പോൾ ഡച്ചുകാർ അവരെ സിംഹാസനത്തിലേറ്റുന്നതിന് സഹായിച്ചു. മാർത്താണ്ഡവർമ്മ എളയടത്തു റാണിയെയും സഹായികളെയും പരാജയപ്പെടുത്തി. 1741-ൽ ഡച്ചുസൈന്യം കുളച്ചലിൽ വന്നെത്തുകയും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിന്റെ തലസ്ഥാനമായ കൽക്കുളത്തേക്കു നീങ്ങുകയും ചെയ്തു. തുടർന്നു നടന്ന യുദ്ധത്തിൽ 1741 ഓഗസ്റ്റ് 10-ന് ഡച്ചുകാരുടെ മേൽ മാർത്താണ്ഡവർമ്മ വിജയംനേടി. ഡച്ചു സൈന്യാധിപനായ ഡിലിനോയിയും കൂട്ടരും തടവിലാക്കപ്പെട്ടു. ഡിലിനോയ് പിന്നീട് തിരുവിതാംകൂർ സൈന്യത്തിൽ ചേർന്നു. കുളച്ചൽ യുദ്ധം ഡച്ചുകാരുടെ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ആധിപത്യത്തിനു അവസാനം കുറിച്ചു. പിന്നീടുണ്ടായ മൈസൂർ ആക്രമണം അവരുടെ നില കൂടുതൽ ദയനീയമാക്കി. 1795-ൽ കൊച്ചിയിൽ വച്ചുണ്ടായ യുദ്ധത്തിൽ ഡച്ചുകാർ ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാർക്കു കീഴടങ്ങി. അതോടെ കേരളത്തിലെ ഡച്ചുകാരുടെ പരാജയം പൂർണ്ണമായി.

വേലുത്തമ്പിദളവ

നാട് നാട്ടുകാരൻ ഭരിക്കണമെന്ന ആശയം സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യലബ്ധിക്ക് 138 വർഷം മുമ്പ് 1809-ൽ ആദ്യമായി പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ച ധീരദേശാഭിമാനിയാണ് വേലുത്തമ്പിദളവ. കന്യാകുമാരി ജില്ലയിൽ കൽക്കുളം താലൂക്കിൽ തലക്കുളത്ത് വലിയ വീട്ടിലാണ് തമ്പി ജനിച്ചത്. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥഭരണത്തിനെതിരെ വിജയകരമായി ജനകീയപ്രക്ഷോഭം സംഘടിപ്പിച്ചതിനു ശേഷമാണ് വേലുത്തമ്പിദളവയായി തീർന്നത്. വേലുത്തമ്പി മുൻകൈയെടുത്ത് രൂപപ്പെടുത്തിയ 1805-ലെ ഉടമ്പടിയനുസരിച്ച് തിരുവിതാംകൂറിന്റെ ആഭ്യന്തരകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ നേരിട്ടിടപെട്ടത് വേലുത്തമ്പിയെ പ്രകോപിപ്പിച്ചു. തിരുവിതാംകൂർ സർക്കാരിലേക്ക് വൻതുക നികുതി കുടിശ്ശിക അടച്ചുതീർക്കാനുണ്ടായിരുന്ന മാത്തുത്തരകന്റെ വസ്തുവക

കൾ കണ്ടുകെട്ടാനുള്ള തമ്പിയുടെ ഉത്തരവ് മെക്കാളെ റദ്ദുചെയ്തു. സാമ്പത്തിക പ്രതിസന്ധിയിലൂടെ കടന്നുപൊയ്ക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കെ കപ്പക്കുടിശ്ശിക ഉടനെ ഒന്നായി അടച്ചുതീർക്കാനും റസിഡന്റ് നിർബന്ധം പിടിച്ചു. ഈ സാഹചര്യത്തിലാണ് ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാരോട് പോരാടാൻ തമ്പി തീരുമാനിച്ചത്. ഈ അവസരത്തിലാണ് കൊച്ചിയുടെ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയായിരുന്ന പാലിയത്തച്ചന്റെ ശത്രുവിനു മെക്കാളെ അഭയം നൽകിയത്. ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാരോടു ശത്രുതയുണ്ടായിരുന്ന പാലിയത്തച്ചനും തമ്പിയും തമ്മിൽ സഖ്യമുണ്ടാക്കി ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരോട് സമരം പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചു.

തുടർന്നു കൊല്ലത്തുവച്ചു നടന്ന യുദ്ധത്തിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സൈന്യം ദളവായുടെ സൈന്യത്തെ പരാജയപ്പെടുത്തി. മഹാരാജാവ് ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരോട് സമാധാനത്തിനായി അപേക്ഷിച്ചു. രാജാവും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരും തമ്മിൽ സന്ധിയിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടു. തമ്പിയെ ദളവാസ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നും നീക്കം ചെയ്യുകയും രാജ്യദ്രോഹിയായി പ്രഖ്യാപിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. പുതിയ ദളവയായി ഉമ്മിണിത്തമ്പി സ്ഥാനമേൽക്കുകയും വേലുത്തിമ്പിയെ തടവിൽ പാർപ്പിക്കാൻ ഉത്തരവിടുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഈ തീരുമാനം തമ്പിക്ക് അംഗീകരിക്കാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞില്ല. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കെതിരായ സൈനികനീക്കത്തിന്റെ പൂർണ്ണമായ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വം ഏറ്റെടുത്തുകൊണ്ട് വേലുത്തമ്പി കുന്നത്തൂരിലെ മണ്ണടിയിലെത്തി. അവിടെ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെ പൂജാരിയുടെ വീട്ടിൽ താമസിച്ചു. അതിനിടെ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഭരണത്തെ എതിർത്തുകൊണ്ട് ഭരണപരമായ വൈകല്യങ്ങളും അഴിമതിയും അനീതിയും ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കെതിരെ ശക്തമായ സമരത്തിന് ആഹ്വാനം ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടും കുണ്ടറവച്ച് അദ്ദേഹം ഒരു വിളംബരം 984 മകരം ഒന്നിന് (11.1.1809) പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചു. അത് പിന്നീട് കുണ്ടറവിളംബരം എന്ന പേരിൽ അറിയപ്പെട്ടു. കുണ്ടറവിളംബരത്തിലെ ഒരു ഭാഗം താഴെ ചേർക്കുന്നു.

"ചതുവുമാർഗ്ഗത്തിൽ രാജ്യം അവരിടെ കൈവശത്തിൽ ആകുന്നതു അവരിടെ വംശപാരമ്പര്യമാകകൊണ്ടും അതിന്മണ്ണം രാജ്യം കൈവശത്തിൽ ആയാൽ കോയിക്കൽ കൊട്ടാരം കോട്ടപ്പടി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ അവരിടെ പാറാവും വരുതിയും ആക്കിത്തീർത്തു. രാജമുദ്ര, പല്ലക്കു, പൗരുഷം ഉൾപ്പെട്ട ബഹുമാനങ്ങളും ദേവാലയം ബ്രഹ്മാലയം ബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള ശട്ടവട്ടങ്ങളും നാട്ടുക്കൂട്ടവും നിറുത്തി ഉപ്പു മുതൽ സർവസ്വവും കുത്തകയായിട്ടു ആക്കിത്തീർത്തു തരിശുകിടക്കുന്ന നിലവും പുരയിടവും അളന്നു കുടികുത്തകയായിട്ടും കെട്ടി നിലവരി തെങ്ങുവരി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട അതികകരങ്ങളും കുടികളിൽ കൂട്ടിവച്ചു അല്പപിഴക്കു നീചന്മാരെക്കൊണ്ടു ശിക്ഷയും കഴിപ്പിച്ചു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ കുരിശും കൊടിയും കെട്ടി വർണ്ണഭേദമില്ലാതെ ബ്രാഹ്മണ സ്ത്രീ മുതലായ സംസർഗവും ചെയ്ത് യുഗഭേദം പോലെ അധർമങ്ങളായിട്ടുള്ള വട്ടങ്ങൾ ആക്കിത്തീർക്കുകയും ചെയ്യും."

ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനെതിരെ നീക്കങ്ങൾ ആരംഭിച്ചു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ശ്രമങ്ങളെ പരാജയപ്പെടുത്തി. ശത്രുക്കൾ പിടികൂടുമെന്നായപ്പോൾ മണ്ണടിയിൽ വച്ച് സ്വന്തം ആയുധം ഉപയോഗിച്ച് ആ ധീര ദേശാഭിമാനി സ്വജീവൻ ബലി അർപ്പിച്ചു. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ മൃതദേഹം തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു കണ്ണമ്മൂലയിൽ കഴുമരത്തിൽ തൂക്കിയിട്ടു പ്രതികാരം പൂർത്തീകരിച്ചു.

പാലിയത്തച്ചൻ

സാമ്രാജ്യവിരുദ്ധ സമരങ്ങൾക്ക് കൊച്ചിയിൽ നേതൃത്വം കൊടുത്ത പാലിയത്തച്ചൻ ചരിത്രത്തിലെ ധീരേതിഹാസമാണ്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് റസിഡന്റിന്റെ നടപടികളെ വേലുത്തമ്പിദളവ എതിർത്തതുപോലെ കൊച്ചീരാജാവിന്റെ മന്ത്രിയായ പാലിയത്തച്ചനും എതിർത്തു. വേലുത്തമ്പിയും പാലിയത്തച്ചനും സഹകരിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് മെക്കാളെയ്ക്കെതിരെ സൈനികനീക്കം നടത്തി. പാലിയത്തച്ചന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലുള്ള സൈന്യം 1805 ഡിസംബർ 18-ന് മെക്കാളെയുടെ കൊച്ചിയിലുള്ള വസതി ആക്രമിച്ചു. ആക്രമണത്തിനിടെ ചെറുപറമ്പത്തു കുഞ്ഞികൃഷ്ണമേനോൻ മെക്കാളെയെ രക്ഷപ്പെടുത്തിയതായി പറയപ്പെടുന്നു. കുഞ്ഞികൃഷ്ണമേനോനെ പിന്നീട് കൊച്ചിയിലെ ദിവാനായി നിയമിച്ചു. മെക്കാളെ രക്ഷപ്പെട്ടു മദ്രാസിലെത്തുകയും ഒരു സംഘം പട്ടാളക്കാരുമായി കൊച്ചിയിൽ തിരിച്ചെത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. സുശക്തമായ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സൈന്യത്തിനു മുന്നിൽ പിടിച്ചുനിൽക്കാൻ പാലിയത്തച്ചനായില്ല. തന്റെ സ്വത്തും ജീവനും മാനവും രക്ഷിക്കണമെന്ന അഭ്യർത്ഥനയോടെ പാലിയത്തച്ചൻ ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കു കീഴടങ്ങി. തുടർന്ന് അദ്ദേഹത്തെ മദ്രാസിലേക്കു കൊണ്ടുപോയി. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരിൽ നിന്ന് അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു പീഡനമേല്ക്കേണ്ടിവന്നു. 1882-ൽ കാശിയിൽവച്ച് അദ്ദേഹം മരിച്ചു. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കെതിരെ ധീരമായി പോരാടുകയും അനുകൂലമല്ലാത്ത സാഹചര്യങ്ങളിൽ കീഴടങ്ങേണ്ടിവരികയും ചെയ്തെങ്കിലും പാലിയത്തച്ചൻ സാമ്രാജ്യവിരുദ്ധപോരാട്ടങ്ങളിലെ ധീരരക്തസാക്ഷിയായിത്തീർന്നു. പൊരുതുന്ന തലമുറകൾക്ക് ഇന്നും ആ ധീരദേശാഭിമാനി ആശയും ആവേശവുമാണ്.

പൊരുതുന്ന മലബാർ

പതിനെട്ടാംശതകത്തിന്റെ അവസാനദശകത്തിലാണ് കേരളത്തിന്റെ ഉത്തരാർദ്ധം മലബാർ എന്നറിയപ്പെടാൻ തുടങ്ങിയത്. സാമൂതിരി, കോലത്തിരി, പഴശ്ശി (കോട്ടയം), കണ്ണൂർ ആലിരാജ, പരപ്പനാട്, കുറുമ്പനാട്, കൊല്ലങ്കോട്, വെട്ടത്തുനാട്, കവളപ്പാറ, വള്ളുവനാട് തുടങ്ങിയ ഇടപ്രഭുക്കളായിത്തീരുന്നു മലബാറിലെ ഭരണാധികാരികൾ. ഇവരിൽ പ്രമുഖൻ കോഴിക്കോട്ടു സാമൂതിരി ആയിരുന്നു. ഏറനാട്ടിലെ നെടിയിരിപ്പ് ആയിരുന്നു സാമൂതിരിവംശത്തിന്റെ മൂലസ്ഥാനം. അതിനാൽ സാമൂതിരി വംശത്തെ നെടിയിരിപ്പ് എന്നും വിളിച്ചുവന്നിരുന്നു. വിദേശശക്തികൾക്കെതിരായി സാമൂതിരി നയിച്ച യുദ്ധങ്ങളും തന്ത്രങ്ങളും കേരള ചരിത്രത്തിലെ ജാജ്ജ്വല്യമാനമായ ഒരദ്ധ്യായമായി ഇന്നും അവശേഷിക്കുന്നു. ഉത്തരകേരളത്തിലെ മറ്റൊരു പ്രസിദ്ധ രാജവംശമായിരുന്നു. കോലത്തിരി. ഇടപ്രഭുക്കന്മാരുടെ നിരന്തരമായ കലഹം കാരണം വൈദേശിക ശക്തികളായ പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാർ, ഫ്രഞ്ചുകാർ, ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാർ എന്നിവർക്കു എളുപ്പത്തിൽ ആധിപത്യം സ്ഥാപിക്കാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞു.

സാമൂതിരിയും കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാരും

കൊച്ചുകൊച്ചു നാടുകളായി തിരിഞ്ഞ് കേരളത്തിലെ കിടമത്സരം വിദേശശക്തികൾക്ക് എളുപ്പത്തിൽ ഇവിടെ ആധിപത്യം സ്ഥാപിക്കാൻ അവസരം നല്കി. വാസ്കോഡഗാമ 1498 മെയ് മാസത്തിൽ കോഴിക്കോട്ടെത്തിയതു മുതൽ കേരളത്തിൽ സംഭവബഹുലമായ ഒരു കാലഘട്ടത്തിന് തുടക്കം കുറിച്ചു.

കപ്പലിറങ്ങിയ അടുത്ത ദിവസം തന്നെ ഗാമ കോഴിക്കോട്ടെത്തി സാമൂതിരിയെ സന്ദർശിച്ചു. വ്യാപാരോദ്ദേശ്യമുണ്ടായിരുന്ന സാമൂതിരി പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരെ സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്തു. പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരുടെ ആഗമനം കേരളത്തിൽ വിദേശവ്യാപാരത്തിന്റെ കുത്തകകളായിരുന്ന മുസ്ലിം വ്യാപാരികളെ അസന്തുഷ്ടരാക്കി. പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാർക്കെതിരെ ദുഷ്പ്രചാരണം നടത്തിയെങ്കിലും സാമൂതിരിയുടെ നിലപാടിൽ മാറ്റംവന്നില്ല. കണ്ണൂരിലെത്തിയ ഗാമ കോലത്തിരിയുടെ പിന്തുണനേടി പോർട്ടുഗലിൽ തിരിച്ചെത്തിയതിനുശേഷം കാബ്രളാന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ വന്ന സംഘത്തെയും സാമൂതിരി സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്തു. രണ്ടാംതവണ കോഴിക്കോട്ടെത്തിയതിനുശേഷം മുസ്ലിം കച്ചവടക്കാരെ പുറത്താക്കണമെന്ന് ഗാമ സാമൂതിരിയോട് ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടത് ഇരുവരും തമ്മിലുള്ള ബന്ധത്തിന് ഉലച്ചിൽതട്ടുന്നതിനു കാരണമായി. ഇതിനിടെ ഗാമ കൊച്ചിയിലെത്തുകയും കൊച്ചിരാജാവ് ഗാമയെ സ്വീകരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. ഇതിന്റെ പേരിൽ സാമൂതിരിക്ക് കൊച്ചിയോട് യുദ്ധം പ്രഖ്യാപിക്കേണ്ടിവന്നു. പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരെ കേരളത്തിൽ നിന്ന് ഒഴിവാക്കാനായി ഉത്തരകേരളത്തിലെ രാജാക്കന്മാരുടെയും പ്രഭുക്കന്മാരുടെയും സഹായത്തോടെ തീവ്രയത്നം സാമൂതിരി നടത്തി. എന്നാൽ കേരളത്തിൽ ആധിപത്യം ഉറപ്പിക്കാനായി ഫ്രാൻസിസ്കോ ജി അൽ മെയ്ഡാ എന്ന വൈസ്രോയിയെ പോർച്ചുഗലിൽ നിന്ന് കേരളത്തിലേക്ക് അയയ്ക്കുകയാണുണ്ടായത്. പൊന്നാനി, കാപ്പാട്, കോഴിക്കോട് തുടങ്ങിയ തുറമുഖങ്ങൾ പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാർക്കെതിരെ യുദ്ധം ചെയ്യുന്നതിന് സാമൂതിരി സജ്ജീകരിച്ചു. കണ്ണൂരിൽവച്ച് 1506-ൽ സംഘട്ടനം ആരംഭിച്ചു. പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാർ പൊന്നാനി ആക്രമിച്ചെങ്കിലും പിന്തിരിയേണ്ടിവന്നു. അൽബുക്കർക്ക് വൈസ്രോയിയായി 1509-ൽ നിയമിതനായതോടുകൂടി സംഘട്ടനത്തിന്റെ തീവ്രത വർദ്ധിച്ചു. ഒടുവിൽ പോർച്ചുഗീസുകാരുടെ ശക്തി കേരളത്തിൽ ആധിപത്യം നേടി.

സാമൂതിരിയും പോർട്ടുഗീസുമായുള്ള സംഘട്ടനം തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. മലബാർ നാവികരുടെ യുദ്ധപരാക്രമം സടകുടഞ്ഞ് എഴുന്നേറ്റത് ഈ അവസരത്തിലാണ്. കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാരുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലായിരുന്നു നാവികസൈന്യം. കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാരു സാമൂതിരിയും ചേർന്ന് പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാർക്കെതിരെയുള്ള യുദ്ധവും കുഞ്ഞാലിയും സാമൂതിരിയും തമ്മിലുള്ള പിണക്കവും കേരളത്തിന്റെ സംഘടിതശക്തിയെ ക്ഷയിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു കാരണമായി. 1615-ൽ സാമൂതിരി കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ കോട്ട ആക്രമിച്ചു. മലബാർ നാവികസേനയുടെ ധീരമായ ചെറുത്തുനില്പ് പോർട്ടുഗീസ് ശക്തിയെ ക്ഷയിപ്പിച്ചു.

സാമൂതിരിയുടെ നാവികസൈന്യത്തിന്റെ നേതൃത്വം വഹിച്ചിരുന്നവരാണ് കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാർ. കൊച്ചിയിൽ അവർ കച്ചവടക്കാർ ആയിരുന്നെന്നും പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരുടെ അധിനിവേശത്തെത്തുടർന്ന് പൊന്നാനിയിലേക്കും കോട്ടയ്ക്കലിലേക്കും താമസം മാറ്റിയതാണെന്നും വ്യത്യസ്തമായ അഭിപ്രായം നിലനിൽക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അരയന്മാരായിരുന്ന ഇവർ ഇസ്ലാം മതം സ്വീകരിച്ചതായും പറയപ്പെടുന്നു. കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാരിൽ നാലുപേർ വളരെ പ്രശസ്തരായിരുന്നു. കുട്ടിഅലി ആയിരുന്നു ആദ്യകാല മരയ്ക്കാരിൽ പ്രമുഖൻ. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സുശക്തവും നിരന്തരവുമായ ആക്രമണം പോർട്ടുഗീസ് കപ്പലുകളുടെ നീക്കത്തെ സാരമായി ബാധിച്ചിരുന്നു. വലിയ കപ്പൽ സമൂഹത്തെപ്പോലും അദ്ദേഹം നിരന്തരം ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടിച്ചുകൊ

ണ്ടിരുന്നു. കുട്ടിഅലിയുടെ മകനാണ് കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാർ രണ്ടാമൻ. പപ്പാച്ചി മരയ്ക്കാരായിരുന്നു പ്രധാനസഹായി. ഇരുവരും അനുയായികളുമായി ചേർന്ന് ഗോവ മുതൽ സിലോൺവരെയുള്ള കടലിൽ പോർട്ടുഗീസ് കപ്പലുകൾ കൊള്ളചെയ്തു. ഇടപ്പള്ളി ആക്രമിച്ച പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരെ സാമൂതിരിയുടെ നിർദ്ദേശപ്രകാരം നേരിട്ടതും കുഞ്ഞാലിരണ്ടാമനായിരുന്നു. നിരന്തരമുള്ള യുദ്ധങ്ങൾ മൂലം ഉണ്ടായ സാമ്പത്തിക തകർച്ചയും സൈന്യത്തിന്റെ നഷ്ടവും പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരുമായി സമാധാനം സ്ഥാപിക്കാൻ സാമൂതിരി നിർബന്ധിതനായി. തുടർന്ന് പൊന്നാനിയിൽ സമാധാനസന്ധി രൂപപ്പെട്ടു. ഇതിന്റെ ഫലമായി കോഴിക്കോട്ടു തുറമുഖത്തെ വ്യാപാരകുത്തക പോർട്ടുഗീസിനു ലഭിച്ചു. എന്നാൽ വൈകാതെതന്നെ യുദ്ധം വീണ്ടും ആരംഭിച്ചു. പട മരയ്ക്കാർ, പട്ടു മരയ്ക്കാർ എന്നീ പേരുകളിലും കുഞ്ഞാലി മൂന്നാമൻ അറിയപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നു.

1529-ൽ സാമൂതിരിയുടെ അംഗീകാരത്തോടെ പോർച്ചുഗീസുകാർ ചാലിയത്തു നിർമിച്ച കോട്ട തകർത്തത് കുഞ്ഞാലി മൂന്നാമന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലായിരുന്നു. പുതുപ്പണം അഥവാ മരയ്ക്കാർ കോട്ട കുഞ്ഞാലി മൂന്നാമൻ സാമൂതിരിയുടെ സഹായത്തോടെ പണിത കോട്ടയായിരുന്നു. ഇതിനിടെ സാമൂതിരിയും പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരും തമ്മിലുണ്ടായ ധാരണയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ പൊന്നാനിയിൽ ഫാക്ടറി നിർമിക്കുന്നതിന് സാമൂതിരി പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരെ അനുവദിച്ചു. ഇത് കുഞ്ഞാലിക്കു സ്വീകാര്യമായില്ല. ഇതിന്റെ പേരിൽ കുഞ്ഞാലിയും സാമൂതിരിയും തമ്മിൽ തർക്കങ്ങളും അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളുമുണ്ടായി. കുഞ്ഞാലി നാലാമൻ പുതുപ്പണം കോട്ടയുടെ അറ്റകുറ്റപ്പണികൾ നടത്തി മോടി പിടിപ്പിച്ചതും മൂറുകളുടെ രാജാവ്, ഇന്ത്യാ സമുദ്രത്തിലെ അധിപൻ തുടങ്ങിയ ബിരുദങ്ങൾ സ്വീകരിച്ചതും സാമൂതിരിയെ പ്രകോപിപ്പിച്ചു. കുഞ്ഞാലി ഒറ്റപ്പെട്ടു. സാമൂതിരിയും പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരും കുഞ്ഞാലിക്കെതിരെ തിരിഞ്ഞു. പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരുടെയും സാമൂതിരിയുടെയും സംയുക്തസേന പലവട്ടം കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാരെ ആക്രമിച്ചു. അവസാനം തന്നെയും അനുയായികളെയും രക്ഷിക്കണമെന്ന് അഭ്യർത്ഥിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് കുഞ്ഞാലി സാമൂതിരിക്കു മുമ്പിൽ കീഴടങ്ങി. ഒരു ധീരയോദ്ധാവിന്റെ പതനത്തിന്റെ ആരംഭമായിരുന്നു അത്. രക്ഷകൻ തന്നെ ഒറ്റുകാരനായിത്തീർന്ന ഒരു ദുരന്തനാടകത്തിന്റെ ഒന്നാം രംഗം.

കീഴടങ്ങിയ കുഞ്ഞാലിയെയും അനുയായികളെയും സാമൂതിരി പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരെ ഏല്പിച്ചു. പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരുടെ സമീപനം വളരെ ക്രൂരവും ധാർമികതയ്ക്കു നിരക്കാത്തതുമായിരുന്നു. കുട്ടി അലി, ചിന്ന അലി എന്നീ രണ്ടു സൈനികർക്കൊപ്പം കുഞ്ഞാലി മരയ്ക്കാരെ ഗോവയിലെ ട്രോൺകോ ജയിലിട്ടു പീഡിപ്പിച്ചു. കൂടാതെ മതം മാറ്റാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. തുടർന്ന് ആ ധീരദേശാഭിമാനിയെ വൈസ്രോയിയുടെ ബംഗ്ലാവിന്റെ മുറ്റത്തുവച്ച് പരസ്യമായി തൂക്കിക്കൊന്നു. അതുകാണുവാനും ആഘോഷിക്കുവാനുമായി അന്ന് ഗോവയിൽ പൊതു ഒഴിവു പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചു. കുഞ്ഞാലിയുടെ മൃതദേഹം കഷണങ്ങളാക്കി മുറിച്ച് കമ്പിയിൽ കോർത്ത് നഗരത്തിന്റെ പല ഭാഗങ്ങളിലും പ്രദർശിപ്പിച്ചു. കുഞ്ഞാലിയുടെ തല ഉപ്പിലിട്ട് കണ്ണൂരിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്ന മുസ്ലീങ്ങൾക്ക് താക്കീത് എന്നവണ്ണം കോലിൽ നാട്ടി നിർത്തി.

സ്വന്തം രാജ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി തലമുറകളായി ജീവിച്ച കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാർമാരുടെ ജീവിതാന്ത്യം കണ്ണീരിലും രക്തത്തിലും ചാലിച്ച ഒരു ഒറ്റുകഥയായി ചരിത്ര

ത്തിൽ ഇന്നും ജ്വലിച്ചുനിൽക്കുന്നു. ഈ ദുരന്തത്തിൽ സാമൂതിരിക്കോ കുഞ്ഞാലി മരയ്ക്കാർക്കോ പങ്കില്ലായിരുന്നുവെന്നും പോർട്ടുഗീസുകാരുടെ കുതന്ത്രവും കള്ള ക്കഥകളുടെ പ്രചാരണവും ആയിരുന്നു എന്നും വ്യാഖ്യാനിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്.

പഴശ്ശിരാജാ-പോരാട്ടത്തിന്റെ ഇതിഹാസനായകൻ

കച്ചവടത്തിനുവന്നവരാണോ രാജ്യംഭരിക്കേണ്ടത്? എന്ന ചോദ്യമുയർത്തി ക്കൊണ്ട് പതിനെട്ടാം ശതകത്തിന്റെ അവസാനത്തെ പതിനൊന്നരവർഷക്കാലം ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സാമ്രാജ്യശക്തിയോട് പടവെട്ടിയ പഴശ്ശിരാജായുടെ ചരിത്രം മലബാറിന്റെ ധീരോജ്ജ്വലമായ ചരിത്രംകൂടിയാണ്. കോട്ടയം സ്വരൂപത്തിലെ ഒരു താവഴിയായി രുന്നു പഴശ്ശിരാജ കുടുംബം. തലശ്ശേരിയിൽ നിന്നു പതിമൂന്നു കിലോമീറ്റർ വടക്കു കിഴക്കായി കോട്ടയം സ്ഥിതിചെയ്യുന്നു. പഴശ്ശിക്കോട്ട നിന്നിരുന്ന സ്ഥലം ഇപ്പോൾ കുലോത്തുംകുന്ന് എന്ന പേരിലാണ് അറിയപ്പെടുന്നത്. വയനാട്, കോട്ടയം എന്നീ പ്രദേശങ്ങളുടെ ഭരണാധികാരം കോട്ടയം രാജകുടുംബത്തിനായിരുന്നു.

1780-82-ൽ ഹൈദരാലിയുമായും 1791-92-ൽ ടിപ്പുസുൽത്താനുമായും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഈസ്റ്റിന്ത്യാകമ്പനി നടത്തിയ യുദ്ധങ്ങളിൽ കോട്ടയം സ്വരൂപത്തിന്റെ എല്ലാവിധ സഹായങ്ങളും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കു ലഭിച്ചിരുന്നു. 1792 ഫെബ്രുവരി 22-നും മാർച്ച് 18 -നും ഇടയ്ക്ക് ശ്രീരംഗപട്ടണത്തുവച്ചുണ്ടായ ഉടമ്പടിയെത്തുടർന്ന് മലബാറിന്റെ പൂർണ്ണ ആധിപത്യം ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കു ലഭിച്ചു. 1793 മെയ് 18-ലെ കരാറനുസരിച്ച് കോട്ടയം, പരപ്പനാട്, കുറുമ്പ്രനാട് പ്രദേശങ്ങൾ പഴശ്ശിരാജാവിന്റെ മാതുലനായ കുറുമ്പ്രരാജാവിനു ലഭിച്ചു. ഈ നടപടിയിൽ പഴശ്ശിരാജാവ് തൃപ്തനായിരുന്നില്ല. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരുടെ ആധിപത്യം അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനായി അദ്ദേഹം ശ്രമമാരംഭി ച്ചു. അധികം താമസിയാതെ തന്നെ പഴശ്ശിരാജ ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാരുടെ മുഖ്യശത്രുവായി മാറി. 1793 ഡിസംബർ 20-ന് ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ പഴശ്ശിരാജയുമായി ഒരു ഉടമ്പടിയിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നു. 1794-ൽ ഈ ഉടമ്പടിയിലെ വ്യവസ്ഥകൾ ഈസ്റ്റിന്ത്യാകമ്പനി റദ്ദാക്കി.

വയനാട്ടിലെ 500 നായന്മാരുടെ ഒരു സൈന്യം പഴശ്ശിരാജായുടെ കീഴിലുണ്ടാ യിരുന്നു. പഴശ്ശിരാജ ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാരുടെ ആജ്ഞകൾ നിരസിച്ചു. കോട്ടയത്തു നിന്നുള്ള കമ്പനിയുടെ നികുതിപിരിവ് തടഞ്ഞു. ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാരുമായുള്ള ബന്ധം ക്രമേണ ഉലഞ്ഞുതുടങ്ങി. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ പഴശ്ശിയെ തടവിലാക്കാൻ നീക്കമാരംഭി ച്ചു. 300 ഭടന്മാരടങ്ങിയ ഒരു സൈന്യം 1796 ഏപ്രിൽ 19-ന് ജെയിംസ് ഗോർഡന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ അർദ്ധരാത്രി സമയം പഴശ്ശിക്കോട്ട വളഞ്ഞു. സൈനികനീക്കം മന സ്സിലാക്കിയ തമ്പുരാനും കുടുംബവും വനാന്തരങ്ങളിലേക്ക് ഒളിച്ചുകടന്നിരുന്നു. വയനാട്, കോട്ടയം രാജ്യങ്ങളുടെ ഭരണകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഇടപെട്ടാൻ ഈസ്റ്റിന്ത്യാക മ്പനിക്ക് അധികാരമില്ലെന്ന് പഴശ്ശിരാജാവ് പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചു. തിരുവിതാംകൂറും കൊച്ചിയും മലബാറും ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാർക്ക് കീഴ്പ്പെട്ടതിനെത്തുടർന്ന് നാട്ടുരാജാക്ക ന്മാരുമായി നടത്തിയ കരാറുകളും ഭരണപരമായ ഇടപെടലുകളും അംഗീകരിക്കാൻ പഴശ്ശി തയ്യാറായില്ല.

1796 ജൂലൈയിൽ പഴശ്ശിരാജാവുമായി ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ സന്ധിക്കു തയ്യാറായി. വയനാട്ടിൽ നിന്ന് രാജാവ് പഴശ്ശിയിലേക്ക് തിരിച്ചെത്തി. സന്ധിയുടെ മറവിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീ ഷുകാർ തന്നെ കബളിപ്പിക്കുവാനുള്ള ശ്രമമാണെന്ന് രാജാവ് മനസ്സിലാക്കി. ഇതി

നിടെ പഴശ്ശിയുടെ പ്രധാന പടത്തലവനായ കൈത്തേരി അമ്പുവിനെ കുറുമ്പ്രനാട് രാജാവ് ഭരണത്തിൽ നിന്നും പുറത്താക്കിയിരുന്നു. വയനാട്ടിൽ നിന്ന് ഈസ്റ്റിന്ത്യാ കമ്പനിക്കാർ ഏലം വിളവെടുപ്പുതുടങ്ങി. ഇത് പഴശ്ശിരാജാവിന് അംഗീകരിക്കാനാ വില്ലായിരുന്നു. നായർ, കുറിച്യർ സൈന്യവുമായി അദ്ദേഹം വനാന്തരങ്ങളിലേക്കു കടന്ന് ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് പട്ടാളത്തെ ആക്രമിച്ചു. കൈത്തേരി അമ്പുവിന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തി ലുള്ള നായർ പട 1796 ജനുവരി 7-ന് ക്യാപ്റ്റൻ ബൊമെന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലുള്ള സൈന്യത്തെ പരാജയപ്പെടുത്തി. തുടർന്ന് ജനുവരി 14-നും 27-നും കമ്പനി സൈന്യത്തെ പഴശ്ശിയുടെ സൈന്യം തോല്പിച്ചു.

ഇംഗ്ലീഷുകാർ വീണ്ടും പഴശ്ശിയുമായി സന്ധിക്ക് തയ്യാറായി. സൈന്യാധിപൻ സ്റ്റുവർട്ടും ഗവർണർ ഡങ്കണും മലബാറിലേക്കുവന്നു. ചിറയ്ക്കൽ പരപ്പനാട്ടു രാജാ ക്കന്മാരും ദേവാൻ ഭണ്ഡാരി എന്ന കുരുമുളകു വ്യാപാരിയും കൂടി സമാധാനദൂത ന്മാരായി 1799 ജൂലൈ 23-ന് പഴശ്ശിരാജയുടെ മുന്നിലെത്തി. എണ്ണായിരം രൂപ പ്രതി വർഷം പെൻഷൻ നല്കാമെന്ന വ്യവസ്ഥയിൽ രാജാവ് പഴശ്ശിക്കോട്ടയിലേക്കു തിരി ച്ചുപോയി. എന്നാൽ 1798 സെപ്തംബറിൽ വയനാട് മൈസൂറിന്റെ ഭാഗമായി ചേർന്നി രുന്നെന്ന ഗവർണർ ജനറൽ മോണിങ്ടൻ പ്രഭുവിന്റെ പ്രഖ്യാപനം പഴശ്ശിയെ ചൊടി പ്പിച്ചു. ടിപ്പുവിന്റെ മരണാനന്തരം വയനാട് പ്രദേശം ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് കമ്പനിയിൽ ലയിച്ച തായി ഈസ്റ്റിന്ത്യാകമ്പനി പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചു. ഇത് അംഗീകരിക്കാൻ പഴശ്ശിക്കാവില്ലായി രുന്നു. നായന്മാരെയും മാപ്പിളമാരെയും കുറിച്യരെയും അണിനിരത്തിക്കൊണ്ട് പഴ ശ്ശിരാജാവ് സുശക്തമായ സൈന്യം കെട്ടിപ്പടുത്തു. രാജാവിനെ ശക്തിയായി നേരി ടാൻ ഡ്യൂക്ക് ഒഫ് വെല്ലിങ്ടൺ വെല്ലസ്ലി എന്ന പേരിൽ സൈന്യനായകനായി മല ബാറിൽ എത്തിച്ചേർന്നു. പഴശ്ശിക്കെതിരെ അദ്ദേഹം പദ്ധതിതയ്യാറാക്കി. പഴശ്ശിയെ സഹായിക്കുന്ന കുടുംബങ്ങളെ തടവിലാക്കുകയും സ്വത്തുക്കൾ പിടിച്ചടക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു.

കണ്ണവം, മന്നത്തന, കുരളപ്പറമ്പ് തുടങ്ങിയ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ വച്ച് വെല്ലസ്ലിയുടെ സൈന്യവുമായി രാജാവിന്റെ സൈന്യം ഏറ്റുമുട്ടി. രാജാവിന്റെ വിശ്വസ്തനായി രുന്ന കണ്ണവത്തു നമ്പ്യാരെയും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പുത്രനെയും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ സൈന്യത്തെ ആക്രമിച്ചു. ഇരുഭാഗത്തും വലിയ തോതിൽ നാശനഷ്ടങ്ങളുണ്ടായി. 1804-ൽ വടക്കെ മലബാർ സബ്കലക്ടറായി തോമസ് ഹാർവി ബേബർ ചാർജ്ജെ ടുത്തതോടുകൂടി പഴശ്ശിക്കെതിരെയുള്ള നീക്കം ശക്തമാക്കി. രാജാവും സംഘവും വയനാട്ടിൽ തെക്കേ മലബാറിലേക്കു പോകുന്ന ചുരത്തിൽ താമസിക്കുന്നതായി 1804 സെപ്തംബർ 4-ന് ബേബറിനു വിവരം ലഭിച്ചു. ഉടൻതന്നെ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സൈന്യം അങ്ങോട്ടു പുറപ്പെടുകയും അടുത്ത ദിവസം രാവിലെ 7 മണിക്ക് രാജാവും സം ഘവും താമസിച്ചിരുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തിന് 60 വാര അടുത്തെത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. തുടർന്ന് ഉഗ്രപോരാട്ടം നടക്കുകയും രാജാവും സംഘവും വനാന്തരത്തിലേക്കു രക്ഷപ്പെടു കയും ചെയ്തു.

1804 നവംബർ ഒന്നിന് വയനാട്ടിലെ സൈനിക പ്രവർത്തനത്തിന്റെ നേതൃത്വം ബേബർ ഏറ്റെടുത്തു. പുൽപ്പള്ളി ക്ഷേത്രത്തിനു സമീപത്താണ് രാജാവും സംഘവും തമ്പടിച്ചിരുന്നത്. ഇരു സൈന്യവും തമ്മിൽ സംഘട്ടനം തുടർച്ചയായി നടന്നുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. ഇതിനിടെ തലയ്ക്കൽ ചന്തുവിനെ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് സൈന്യം തട

വിലാക്കി രാജാവിനെ സഹായിക്കുന്നവരെ ഭീഷണിപ്പെടുത്തുകയും തടവിലാക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. മൈസൂറിൽ നിന്നുള്ള ഗൗണ്ടർമാരും ചെട്ടികളും രാജാവിന് സഹായമെത്തിക്കുന്നത് ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സൈന്യം തടഞ്ഞു. ബേബറും സൈന്യവും പുൽപ്പള്ളിക്കടുത്ത് ക്യാമ്പ് ചെയ്ത് നാട്ടുകാരെ സ്വാധീനിക്കുകയും രാജാവിന്റെ ഗൂഢസങ്കേതങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ച് അന്വേഷിച്ചറിയുകയും ചെയ്തു. രാജാവും സംഘവും മൈസൂർ വയനാട് അതിർത്തിയിൽ ഒളിച്ചുതാമസിച്ചിരുന്നത് ചില ആദിവാസികൾ മുഖേന ബേബർ അറിഞ്ഞു. ഉടൻതന്നെ ബേബറിന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ സൈന്യം അങ്ങോട്ടു നീങ്ങി. വാവിലാതോട്ടിൻതീരത്തു വച്ച് രാജാവിന്റെ സംഘത്തെ വളഞ്ഞു. 1805 നവംബർ 30-ന് പഴശ്ശിരാജാ വെടിയേറ്റു മരിച്ചു. രാജാവ് സ്വയം വെടിവച്ചുമരിച്ചതാണെന്ന് പക്ഷാന്തരമുണ്ട്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരുടെ കച്ചേരി ഗുമസ്തൻ രാജാവിനെ പിടിക്കാനടുത്തപ്പോൾ വിരലിൽ അണിഞ്ഞിരുന്ന മോതിരത്തിലെ രത്നം അടർത്തിയെടുത്ത് വിഴുങ്ങി മരിച്ചു എന്നും പറയപ്പെടുന്നു.

ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് മേധാവിത്വത്തിനെതിരെ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ വേലുത്തമ്പിയും കൊച്ചിയിൽ പാലിയത്തച്ചനും പ്രകടമാക്കിയ സമരവീര്യം ശ്ലാഘനീയംതന്നെ. പക്ഷേ അതിനേക്കാളെല്ലാം തിളക്കമാർന്നതായിരുന്നു പഴശ്ശിരാദയുടെ ചെറുത്തുനില്പ്പ്. മലബാറിലെ മണ്ണിന്റെയും മനസ്സിന്റെയും തതോന്നതകളിൽ ഇന്നും ആ ചെറുത്തുനിൽപിന്റെയും സമരവീര്യത്തിന്റെയും മാറ്റൊലികൾ മുഴങ്ങുന്നുണ്ട്.

വൈദേശികശക്തിക്കെതിരെ പടപൊരുതി രക്തസാക്ഷിത്വം വരിച്ച കേരളരാജാവ് പഴശ്ശിമാത്രമായിരിക്കും. വൈദേശിക ശക്തികൾക്കു കീഴടങ്ങി സമ്മാനങ്ങളും ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങളും നേടി പഴശ്ശിക്കും അധികാരത്തിൽ തുടരാമായിരുന്നു. പക്ഷേ, അത് പഴശ്ശിയുടെ വഴിയായിരുന്നില്ല. പഴശ്ശിയുടേത് കാലത്തിന്റെ നിയോഗമായിരുന്നു. രാജാക്കന്മാരിലെ പോരാളിയും പോരാളികളിലെ രാജാവുമായിരുന്ന പഴശ്ശി പോരാടുന്ന മനസ്സുകൾക്ക് എന്നും മാർഗ്ഗദീപമായിരിക്കും.

ഉണ്ണിമൂസയുടെ കലാപം-1920-21

ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കെതിരെ മലബാറിൽനടന്ന മറ്റൊരു പ്രധാനകലാപമായിരുന്നു ഇളംപുളിശ്ശേരി ഉണ്ണിമൂസയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ മാപ്പിളമാർ നടത്തിയത്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരുടെ അംഗീകാരത്തോടുകൂടി നാടുവാഴി നികുതിപിരിവ് വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുകയും അത് കർശനമായി പിരിച്ചെടുക്കാൻ തുടങ്ങിയതുമാണ് ഉണ്ണിമൂസയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ പ്രതിഷേധമുയരാൻ കാരണം. ഉണ്ണിമൂസയെ പിടിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നവർക്ക് കമ്പനി 3000/- രൂപ പാരിതോഷികം പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചു. എങ്കിലും കലാപം തുടർന്നു. അവസാനം കമ്പനി ഉണ്ണിമൂസയുമായി ഒത്തുതീർപ്പിലെത്താൻ തീരുമാനിച്ചു. ഉണ്ണിമൂസയ്ക്ക് പ്രതിവർഷം 1000 രൂപ മാലിഖാൻ നൽകാനും ഇളംപുളിശ്ശേരി ഗ്രാമത്തിലെ നികുതിപിരിവിന്റെ ചുമതലനൽകാനും സന്ധിയിലൂടെ ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർ നിർബന്ധിതരായി. ജനകീയപ്രതിരോധനത്തിന്റെ പ്രസക്തിയാണ് ഉണ്ണിമൂസ കലാപത്തിലൂടെ വെളിവാക്കപ്പെടുന്നത്.

മലബാർ ലഹള

ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ആധിപത്യത്തിനും നാടുവാഴിത്വത്തിനും എതിരായ പ്രതിഷേധങ്ങളും കലാപങ്ങളും മലബാറിൽ പൊട്ടിപ്പുറപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. ഈ കലാപങ്ങൾ മാപ്പി

ഉക്കലാപങ്ങൾ എന്ന പേരിലാണ് അറിയപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നത്. ഇത്തരം കലാപങ്ങൾ അടിച്ചമർത്താനായി 1854-ൽ മലബാർ സ്പെഷ്യൽ പോലീസ് രൂപീകരിച്ചു. 1920-21 കാലഘട്ടത്തിലാണ് പ്രസിദ്ധമായ മലബാർ ലഹള നടന്നത്. ഖിലാഫത്ത് കമ്മറ്റി സെക്രട്ടറി വടക്കേവീട്ടിൽ മുഹമ്മദിനെ തിരക്കി മുസ്ലിംദേവാലയത്തിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥർ കടന്നുവന്നത് പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾക്കു കാരണമായി. മുസ്ലീങ്ങൾ ശക്തിയായി എതിർത്തു. വാരിയൻ കുന്നത്ത് മുഹമ്മദ് ഹാജി, സീതിക്രായ തങ്ങൾ, ആലി മുസലിയാർ എന്നിവരാണ് പ്രക്ഷോഭങ്ങൾക്കു നേതൃത്വം നൽകിയത്. 1921-ൽ മലപ്പുറം, തിരൂരങ്ങാടി, മഞ്ചേരി, പെരിന്തൽമണ്ണ എന്നിവിടങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് മേധാവിത്വത്തെ തുരത്തുന്നതിൽ വിജയിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. ഗവ. ഭീകരമർദ്ദന നടപടികൾ സ്വീകരിച്ചു. തിരൂരിൽനിന്നു കോയമ്പത്തൂരിലേക്ക് 1921 നവംബർ 10-ന് ഗുഡ്സ് വാഗണിൽ കൊണ്ടുപോയ 60-ൽപ്പരം മുസ്ലീങ്ങൾ ശ്വാസംമുട്ടി മരിച്ചു. കലാപത്തിൽ 10000-ൽ പരം ആളുകൾ കൊല്ലപ്പെട്ടതായി കണക്കാക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്.

ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് മേധാവിത്വത്തിനും നാടുവാഴിഭരണത്തിനും എതിരായി രൂപപ്പെട്ട സമരത്തിൽ വർഗീയവിദ്വേഷവും കടന്നുകൂടി. കോൺഗ്രസ് ഖിലാഫത്ത് പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾക്ക് കനത്ത തിരിച്ചടി ഏൽക്കേണ്ടിവന്നു. മാപ്പിള-കാർഷിക കലാപമായും മലബാർ ലഹള വിലയിരുത്തപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഏതായാലും അടിച്ചമർത്തപ്പെട്ട ജനതയുടെ പ്രതിഷേധത്തിന്റെയും ഉയിർത്തെഴുന്നേല്പിന്റെയും പ്രതിരൂപമായി മലബാർ കലാപത്തെ വിലയിരുത്തപ്പെടേണ്ടതാണ്.

കുറിച്യാരുടെ കലാപം-1812

ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് മേധാവിത്വത്തിനെതിരായ മലബാർ ജനതയുടെ രോഷാഗ്നി പഴശ്ശിരാജായുടെ ധീരോദാത്തരായ രക്തസാക്ഷിത്വത്തോടെ അവസാനിച്ചിരുന്നില്ല. പഴശ്ശിരാജായോടു സഹതരിച്ചതിന്റെ പേരിൽ 1805-നുശേഷം വയനാട്ടിലെ ആദിവാസികളെ നിരന്തരം പീഡിപ്പിച്ചിരുന്നു. കുറിച്യർ അടിമപ്പണി ചെയ്യാൻ നിർബന്ധിതരായി. പരമ്പരാഗതമായി കുറിച്യർ സാധനങ്ങളാണ് നികുതിയായി നൽകിവന്നിരുന്നത്. പക്ഷേ പണമായി നികുതി നൽകണമെന്ന് ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരുടെ തീരുമാനം കുറിച്യരെ കലാപത്തിലേക്കു നയിച്ചു. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥർ കുറിച്യരുടെ വീടുകൾ ആക്രമിക്കുകയും സ്വകാര്യസ്വത്തുക്കൾ പിടിച്ചടക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. രാമൻതമ്പിയായിരുന്നു കുറിച്യരുടെ നേതാവ്. 1812 മാർച്ച് 25-ന് കലാപം ആരംഭിച്ചു. കോൽക്കാരായി കമ്പനിയിൽ ജോലി ചെയ്തിരുന്ന കുറിച്യർ ജോലി ഉപേക്ഷിച്ച് കലാപത്തിൽ പങ്കെടുത്തു. അമ്പും വില്ലും ഉപയോഗിച്ച് അവർ കമ്പനി സൈന്യത്തെ എതിർത്തു. കൂടുതൽ സൈന്യം വയനാട്ടിൽ എത്തുകയും കുറിച്യരെ പരാജയപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. 1812 മെയ് മാസത്തിൽ കുറിച്യരുടെ കലാപം സമ്പൂർണ്ണമായി അടിച്ചമർത്തപ്പെട്ടു.

സൂര്യനസ്തമിക്കാത്ത സാമ്രാജ്യമെന്നു വിശേഷിപ്പിക്കപ്പെട്ട, തോക്കും പീരങ്കിയും ഉപയോഗിച്ചുള്ള ആധുനിക യുദ്ധരീതികളിൽ പരിശീലനം സിദ്ധിച്ച ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സൈന്യത്തോട്, ആദിവാസികളായ, അമ്പും വില്ലും മാത്രം ആയുധങ്ങളായുള്ള ഒരു ജനവിഭാഗം കലാപത്തിലേർപ്പെടുക എന്നത് നിരന്തരമായ പീഡനത്തിന്റെയും അവരുടെ നിലനില്പിനെത്തന്നെ ഗുരുതരമായി ബാധിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥിതിവിശേഷം വന്ന ഘട്ടത്തിലാവണം. ചരിത്രത്തിൽ രക്തലിപികളാൽ മാത്രം അടയാളപ്പെടുത്തപ്പെട്ട

ചെറുത്തുനില്പിന്റെ വീരേതിഹാസമായി കുറിച്യർ കലാപം ഓർമയിൽ നില നിൽക്കും.

കയ്യൂർസമരം-1941

സാമ്രാജ്യത്വ-ഫ്യൂഡൽ വിരുദ്ധസമരമായിരുന്നു കയ്യൂർ സമരമെന്ന പേരിൽ അറിയപ്പെടുന്നത്. കാസർകോട് താലൂക്കിലെ കയ്യൂർ ഗ്രാമത്തിലെ കർഷകസംഘാംഗങ്ങൾ നാടുവാഴിത്തത്തിനും ജന്മിത്വത്തിനും എതിരെ ശക്തമായ പ്രക്ഷോഭം ആരംഭിച്ചു. 1941 മാർച്ച് 28-ന് കയ്യൂരിൽ പ്രകടനം നടത്തിയ കർഷകർ സുബ്ബരായ് എന്ന പോലീസുകാരനുമായി ഏറ്റുമുട്ടി. രക്ഷപ്പെടാനായി പുഴയിലേക്കു ചാടിയ സുബ്ബരായ മുങ്ങിമരിച്ചു. തുടർന്ന് ഗ്രാമത്തിൽ പോലീസ് ഭീകരവാഴ്ചയായിരുന്നു. നിരവധിപേർ മർദ്ദനത്തിനും പീഢനത്തിനും ഇരയായി. പോലീസ് നിരവധി കേസുകൾ ചാർജ് ചെയ്തു. കേസുകൾ അവസാനിച്ചപ്പോൾ 4 പേരെ വധശിക്ഷയ്ക്കു വിധിച്ചു. അപ്പു, ചിരുകണ്ടൻ, അബൂബക്കർ, കുഞ്ഞമ്പുനായർ എന്നീ കർഷക സംഘം പ്രവർത്തകരെ 1943 മാർച്ച് 29-ന് കണ്ണൂർ ജയിലിൽ തൂക്കിക്കൊന്നു. സമരേതിഹാസങ്ങൾക്ക് ഒരു പുത്തൻ അധ്യായം എഴുതിച്ചേർത്തുകൊണ്ട് ആ ധീരരക്തസാക്ഷികൾ കയ്യൂരിന് ചരിത്രത്തിൽ പുതിയ ഇടം നേടിക്കൊടുത്തു.

ക്വിറ്റ് ഇന്ത്യാസമരം

ഇന്ത്യാചരിത്രത്തിന്റെ ഗതിവിഗതികളെ അപ്പാടെ മാറ്റിമറിച്ച സംഭവമായിരുന്നു ക്വിറ്റ് ഇന്ത്യാ സമരം. 1942 ആഗസ്റ്റ് 9-ന് അഖിലേന്ത്യാതലത്തിൽ സമരം ആരംഭിച്ചു. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും കൊച്ചിയിലും പ്രക്ഷോഭങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായി. അറസ്റ്റും മർദ്ദനവും ഉണ്ടായി. നിരോധനാജ്ഞയും നിലവിൽവന്നു. 1942 ആഗസ്റ്റ് 15-ന് തൃശ്ശൂർ മണികണ്ഠനാൽത്തറയിൽ നിരോധനം ലംഘിച്ച് പ്രജാമണ്ഡലം പ്രസിഡന്റ് എസ്. നീലകണ്ഠയ്യർ പ്രസംഗിച്ചു. യോഗത്തിൽ സായുധപോലീസ് ലാത്തിച്ചാർജ് നടത്തി. നേതാക്കളും വിദ്യാർഥികളും മർദ്ദനത്തിരയായി. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും നിയമലംഘനവും അറസ്റ്റും മർദ്ദനവും ഉണ്ടായി.മലബാറിൽ സമരം പ്രായേണ ദുർബലമായിരുന്നു. ക്വിറ്റ് ഇന്ത്യാസമരത്തിൽ കേരളത്തിനു സുപ്രധാനപങ്കുവഹിക്കുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞില്ല.

പുന്നപ്രവയലാർ സമരം

കേരളചരിത്രത്തിൽ അവിസ്മരണീയമായ ഒരു സമരമായിരുന്നു 1946-ലെ പുന്നപ്ര-വയലാർ സമരം. വ്യത്യസ്തമായ വ്യാഖ്യാനങ്ങൾക്കും വിലയിരുത്തലുകൾക്കും വിധേയമായ തൊഴിലാളിവർഗ്ഗത്തിന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലുണ്ടായ സായുധകലാപമായിരുന്നു പുന്നപ്ര-വയലാർ സമരം.

1946 ജനുവരിയിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ അമേരിക്കൻ മോഡൽ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം നിർദ്ദേശിക്കപ്പെട്ടു. പ്രായപൂർത്തിവോട്ടവകാശം, ദിവാൻഭരണം, നീക്കം ചെയ്യാനാവാത്ത എക്സിക്യൂട്ടീവ് ഉപദേശാധികാരമുള്ള കമ്മറ്റികൾ എന്നിവ അടങ്ങിയതായിരുന്നു അമേരിക്കൻ മോഡൽ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം. കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പാർട്ടിയും കോൺഗ്രസും ഇതിനെ എതിർത്തു. ചേർത്തല, ആലപ്പുഴ തുടങ്ങിയ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലെ തൊഴിലാളികൾ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പാർട്ടിയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ സംഘടിതസായുധ

കലാപം ആരംഭിച്ചു. ദിവാൻ ശക്തമായി സമരത്തെ നേരിട്ടു. ദിവാനെതിരെ നിശ്ച യദാർഢ്യത്തോടെ ആലപ്പുഴജില്ലയിലെ പുന്നപ്ര-വയലാർ പ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ തൊഴി ലാളികൾ സമരം സംഘടിപ്പിച്ചു. 1946 സെപ്തംബർ 26-ന് വയലാറിലെയും പുന്ന പ്രയിലെയും തൊഴിലാളികൾ കല്ലുകളും വാരിക്കുന്തങ്ങളുമായി പോലീസുമായി ഏറ്റുമുട്ടി. പട്ടാളത്തെ ഉപയോഗിച്ച് ഗവൺമെന്റ് സമരത്തെ അടിച്ചമർത്തി. നിര വധി തൊഴിലാളികൾ കൊല്ലപ്പെട്ടു. ചേർത്തലയിലും ആലപ്പുഴയിലും പട്ടാളനിയമം പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചു. ദിവാൻ രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യർ പട്ടാളത്തിന്റെ നായകസ്ഥാനം ഏറ്റെടു ത്തു.

പുന്നപ്ര-വയലാറിൽ സംഭവിച്ചത് കിരാതമായ കൊലയും ക്രൂരമായമർദ്ദനങ്ങ ളുമായിരുന്നെങ്കിലും തൊഴിലാളികൾ അതിസാഹസികമായി കല്ലുകളും വാരിക്കു ന്തങ്ങളുമായി തോക്കുധാരികളായ പട്ടാളക്കാരുമായി ഏറ്റുമുട്ടിയത് ചരിത്രത്തിലെ മറക്കാനാവാത്ത ഒരേടാണ്. രക്തവും കണ്ണീരും കലർന്ന അതിസാഹസികതയുടെ ഒരേട്. വൈദേശിക-രാജഭരണത്തിന്റെ സ്വേച്ഛാധിപത്യത്തിനെതിരായി ജനങ്ങൾ നടത്തിയ പുന്നപ്ര-വയലാർ സമരത്തെ അംഗീകരിക്കുന്നു. പ്രക്ഷോഭ-പോരാട്ടച രിത്രത്തിൽ ഉപയോഗിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ആയുധങ്ങളല്ല ജനതയുടെ നിശ്ചയദാർഢ്യവും ഇച്ഛാശക്തിയുമാണ് പ്രധാനമെന്ന് വ്യക്തമാക്കിയ പോരാട്ടമായിരുന്നു പുന്നപ്ര-വ യലാർ സമരം. തോക്കേന്തിയ പട്ടാളത്തിനെതിരെ നാടൻ ആയുധങ്ങളുമായി മുന്നേ റിയ ഒരു ജനത വിജയത്തെക്കാൾ മരണത്തെയാണ് അഭിമുഖീകരിച്ചത്. ആ ധീര തയും പോരാട്ടവീര്യവും എന്നെന്നും സ്മരിക്കപ്പെടേണ്ടതാണ്.

1498 മുതൽ 1947 ആഗസ്റ്റ് 15 വരെ കേരളത്തിൽ പ്രത്യക്ഷമായോ പരോക്ഷ മായോ വൈദേശികാധിപത്യം വ്യത്യസ്തതലങ്ങളിൽ നിലനിന്നിരുന്നു. അതുകൊ ണ്ടുതന്നെ ഈ കാലഘട്ടത്തിൽ നടന്ന മിക്കവാറും പ്രക്ഷോഭങ്ങൾക്കും പോരാട്ട ങ്ങൾക്കും ഒരു വിധത്തിലല്ലെങ്കിൽ മറ്റൊരു വിധത്തിൽ വൈദേശികാധിപത്യത്തിന്റെ നയസമീപനങ്ങളും വിവേചനങ്ങളും നീതിനിഷേധങ്ങളും കാരണമായിട്ടുണ്ട്.

കേരളത്തിൽ സമ്പൂർണ്ണാധികാരം കിട്ടി ഒരു ദശാബ്ദത്തിനുള്ളിൽ അവർക്കെ തിരെ നീങ്ങിയ പ്രബലശക്തികളെ ഏതാണ്ട് ഒരേ കാലയളവിൽത്തന്നെ അമർച്ച ചെയ്യാൻ ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാർക്കു സാധിച്ചു. എങ്കിലും ജനതയുടെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യേച്ഛയെ തകർക്കാൻ അവർക്കായില്ല. അവരുടെ ജീവിതവും സമരവും ജനതയ്ക്ക് ആശയും ആവേശവും പകർന്നു. സമൂഹോന്നമനത്തിനും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിലും മറ്റു വിവിധ മേഖലകളിലും ഓരോ പടി മുന്നേറുമ്പോഴും കേരളജനതയ്ക്ക് പഴശ്ശിരാജാവിന്റെയും പാലിയത്തച്ചന്റെയും വേലുത്തമ്പിദളവയുടെയും കുഞ്ഞാലിമരയ്ക്കാരുടെയും പിന്നെചരിത്രത്തിലില്ലാത്ത ധീരദേശാഭിമാനികളായിരുന്ന ആയിരമായിരം പടയാ ളികളുടെയും സാധാരണക്കാരുടെയും ദേശാഭിമാനോജ്ജ്വലമായ ജീവിതം ആവേശം പകർന്നിരുന്നു.

ഇരുപതാംനൂറ്റാണ്ടിന്റെ ആദ്യപകുതി ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ആധിപത്യത്തിനെതിരെയുള്ള ജനകീയ മുന്നേറ്റത്തിന്റെ പുത്തൻ മുഖമാണു കാഴ്ചവച്ചത്. അഖിലേന്ത്യാതലത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായ പുത്തൻ ഉണർവിന്റെ ആവേശം കേരളത്തിലും പ്രകടമായിരുന്നു. 1934-ന്റെ അന്ത്യഘട്ടത്തിൽ കേരളത്തിലെ കോൺഗ്രസ് ഇടതുപക്ഷം വലതുപക്ഷം എന്നി ങ്ങനെ രണ്ടായിപിരിഞ്ഞു കഴിഞ്ഞിരുന്നു. പി.കൃഷ്ണപിള്ളയുടെയും ഇ.എം.എ

സ്സിന്റെയും നേതൃത്വത്തിലുള്ള സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റ് വിഭാഗം എന്നറിയപ്പെട്ടിരുന്ന ഇടതു പക്ഷ ചിന്താഗതിക്കാർ 1939-ൽ മലബാറിൽ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പാർട്ടി രൂപീകരിച്ചു. രണ്ടാം ലോകമഹായുദ്ധത്തിന്റെ ആരംഭകാലം കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് നേതൃത്വത്തിലായിരുന്നു കേരള പ്രദേശ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കമ്മറ്റി ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഭരണത്തിനെതിരായ സമരങ്ങൾക്കു പിന്തുണ നല്കി.

നൂറ്റാണ്ടുകൾ നീണ്ടുനിന്ന വൈദേശികാധിപത്യത്തിനെതിരെ പലഘട്ടങ്ങളിലും ജനങ്ങളെ സജ്ജരാക്കുന്നതിനും സംഘടിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും ഇടതുപക്ഷപുരോഗമന ആശയങ്ങൾക്ക് മുഖ്യപങ്കുവഹിക്കാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. അടിമത്തത്തിനും അധിനിവേശങ്ങൾക്കും എതിരായി ലോകത്തിന്റെ മറ്റുഭാഗങ്ങളിലുണ്ടായ പുരോഗമനചിന്താഗതിയും കേരളത്തിൽ പ്രതിഫലിച്ചിരുന്നു. സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിലേക്കുള്ള പാത നിരന്തരപോരാട്ടങ്ങളുടെയും ദുരന്തങ്ങളുടെയും കനൽ വഴികളാണെന്ന് തിരിച്ചറിയുകയായിരുന്നു.

പോരാട്ടങ്ങൾ അവസാനിക്കുന്നില്ല. ജീവസ്സുറ്റതും ചലനാത്മകവുമായ ഏതു സമൂഹത്തിലും പോരാട്ടത്തിന്റെ അഗ്നിജ്വാലകളുണ്ടാകണം. അനീതിക്കെതിരെ അണയാകണ്ണുകളുണ്ടാവണം.

റഫറൻസ് ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ:

1. *ട്രാവൻകൂർ സ്റ്റേറ്റ് മാന്വൽ*
2. *കൊച്ചിൻ സ്റ്റേറ്റ് മാന്വൽ*
3. സീരിസ് ഫയലുകൾ-റീജിണൽ ആർക്കൈവ്സ് എറണാകുളം
4. പാലിയം രേഖകൾ-റീ.ആർക്കൈവ്സ് എറണാകുളം
5. *കേരളചരിത്രം*
6. *സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യസമരം*
7. *മനോരമ ഇയർബുക്ക്*
8. *മാതൃഭൂമി ഇയർബുക്ക്*
9. കുണ്ടറവിളംബരം
10. Oxford Dictionary of Annatations and Proverbs-II

GENESIS OF LEFTISM AND NATIONALISM IN KERALA

Dr. D. Daniel

An advanced radical stand in the socio-economic and political thinking of the people can be generally called Leftism. As a political movement in India, its genesis could be traced back as part of the larger national struggle for freedom. The Leftist and Nationalist movement in Kerala appeared not as an isolated development. It marked the culmination of a variety of factors at work jointly in the Malayalam-speaking areas of British Malabar and the princely states of Travancore and Cochin and modulated according to the general political currents that had operated in the provinces of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In other words, the leaders who had initiated Leftist propaganda work did not restrict their activities to Travancore alone; but piloted their efforts through the political activists of Malabar and Cochin. It originated with the gradual breakdown of the existing order of polity, replaced by a new setup. This could be made possible with the spread of English education and the infiltration of liberal thoughts from Europe. Ultimately, the socio-political movements that had been started in the nineteenth century, crystallized in the form of diverse associations of which the Travancore Youth League, founded in 1931 championed the cause of the Radicals. Global Background of Leftism nineteenth century, crystallized in the form of diverse associations of which the Travancore Youth League, founded in 1931 championed the cause of the Radicals.

Global Background of Leftism

The Leftist ideology that crystallized from the working class struggle formed a modern trend in world history. The growth of human progress and civilisation contributed to spectacular changes of great magnitude. The life of humanity in the ancient and medieval times, which under went slow process of socio-economic transformation received impetus since the Renaissance, Geographical Discoveries and Protestant Reformation. The intellectual revolution in Europe which followed these trends opened an era of thought and awareness on human freedom. The French Revolution of 1789 with its catch words liberty, equality and fraternity ended up with the declaration of rights of mankind.[1] The American War of Independence, (1776-1783) asserted the right to control their own on constitutional and democratic methods.[2] In the material life of people, the Industrial Revolution in England in the eighteenth century made remarkable changes in industrial method-from hand work to machines driven by power and from work at home to work in factories.[3] It increased the production of all kinds of manufactured goods which in large quantities were exported to all parts of the world. With such an economic change in Britain, India became a colonial nation under it. The change in the traditional economic order in England naturally had its impact on India. The ideological and organizational evolution of working class struggles in India and the consequential growth of Leftist ideology can be better understood only by a look into the genesis of these movements in Europe.

The development of capitalism in India, inspite of its delayed sprouting came, to occupy a favourable ground in the Tamil, Kerala and West Bengal regions and other cities like Bombay. As has been stated: "The Industrial Revolution had therefore two aspects - the technical i.e., the invention and introduction of machinery and the social, i.e., the passing away of the old feudal order and the formation of new basic social classes - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the newly emerging capitalist economic order".[4]

The English working class raised their first social and political demands in a huge demonstration at Peterloo on 16 August 1819. The Government resorted to deliberate massacre attempt upon this peaceful demonstration and thereby the working class reform movement. The suppressed mind of workers resulted in strikes and industrial unrest which often ended in violence and bloodshed.[5] In 1830 the workers established the National Association for the Protection of Labour and attempted to unite workers and unions together. Robert Owen aimed to dispense with employers altogether and in a special conference of trade union delegates in London in 1834 he founded

the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. As a philanthropic and reformist movement, Owenism had become one of the chief theoretical pillars of the working class movement for some time.[6] Yet, in view of its inability to satisfy the expectations of working classes, the workers lost faith in the efficacy of trade unions. The labour force turned again to political activity and strengthened the Chartist Movement for political reform in 1836. This movement continued for about ten years and ended in failure with the last wave of demonstration of Chartists in April 1848. Yet, the partial fulfillment of ten hours working day turned out to be a historical significance. Through this movement the working class also made an attempt to build a broad national party with demands for political rights. Complimenting the English working class, Karl Marx stated: "The English factory workers were the champions, not only of the English, but of the modem working class generally, as their theorists were the first to throw down the gauntlet to the theory of capital".[7] V .I.Lenin too recognized this and puts it, "England was giving the world the first broad, truly mass and politically clear cut proletarian revolutionary movement".[8] The inhuman methods of exploitation forced the labourers of England not only to fight for upliftment from their miserable and worthless living condition; but realized the inherent evils of the capitalist system itself and launched offensive against it. More so, the writings of Chartist leader James O'Brien reflected a clear understanding of class struggle and the features of a capitalist state. Further, within the ranks of the capitalist and middle classes, there sparked off protest against aggressive capitalist exploitation in what was called Utopian Socialism in European nations during the early part of nineteenth century. In the United States of America, Thomas Skidmore, a machinist condemned capitalism and called upon the labouring class to challenge it. These Utopian idealistic ventures, however, failed to cure the ills of capitalism. When Karl Marx and Engels developed Scientific Socialism, these Utopian movements lost their charm and glory. Through several contradictions, working class movement developed independence of thought and scientific theory and overcame deterioration in living conditions in capitalist economy in the nineteenth century.

After undergoing years of struggle and reactionary opposition, trade unions won legal recognition and gained their right of collective bargaining power with employers in a more effective form.[9] In fact, the contribution of England to working class movement cannot be sidelined from the pages of history. Surmounting national borders the proletarian class consciousness marched forward in international solidarity and organization. As a fruitful culmination, the working class representatives of different countries met at St. Martin's Hall, London for the first time on 28 September 1864. Karl Marx, who took

part in this meeting, was elected as one of the German members of the Central Committee. In October 1864 this Committee organized the International Workmen's Association. Karl Marx took a leading role in formulating its political programme with his socio-political theories enshrined in *Communist Manifesto* (1848). His *Address of the International* ended with the great historic slogan of the *Communist Manifesto:*

"Proletarians of All Countries Unite!". The preamble to the constitution of this Association, as mostly drafted by Marx emerged as one of the valuable documents in the history of working class movement in Europe. As an 'infallible guide to action for the working classes the world over for all time to come', it declared that 'the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies; but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule; .... that the economic emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means; ... that the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists; .....[10]

When Marxian ideology came to be deep-rooted among the radical or left--oriented working class, other conservative or traditional approaches to solve the problems of millions of labourers world over, were relegated to the back ground as unworthy doctrines. There cannot be two opinions that the Marxian ideas had deep rooted mostly among the organized working class through which the attainment of equality came to be an acceptable goal. The local conditions and socio-economic and political formation of the region either goaded the speedy spread of this ideology or worked as a detrimental factor against liberation and exploitation. The industrial workers of England obtained the right to vote through the Representation of the People Acts of 1867 and 1884. In 1868 the workers formed the Trade Union Congress as the central organization of the working class in England. In 1867 the Government appointed the Royal Commission on Trade Unions. It's recommendations culminated into the passing of Trade Union Act in 1871.[11]

Leftist Ideology

The Leftist ideology to Indian context had evolved out of the matrix of Indian nationalism. In the nineteenth century Indian socio-political life, advocacy of Indian culture appeared tantamount to the exaltation of rise and growth of nationalism. Therefore, it was a mixture of orthodox sentiments of the traditional life coloured with anti-British and anti-Christian sentiments. Inspite of the fact that Karl Marx had evolved the theory of surplus value,

dictatorship of the proletariat and classless society during the middle of the nineteenth century, through his works *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Capital* (1876-1883), the idea of Communism came to be an accepted ideology since the outbreak of the Russian Revolution (1917). When Mahatma Gandhi had carved out a niche in the Indian National Movement, his strategy appeared one of mixing religious orthodoxy with the struggle. The Congress endeavoured to absorb the tenets of non-violence as the primary method for the attainment of political freedom. Gandhian methods did not find favour from different sections even in the Congress rank. There emerged a left-wing element mostly from the urban intelligentsia, who were skeptical on Gandhian Socialism. On the other side Jawaharlal Nehru, in his formative years, conceived Socialism as a remedy for the elimination of poverty and economic disparity and advocated repaid industrialisation.[12] To quote Nehru, ".....the general Marxist approach, fifting in as it more or less does with the present state of scientific knowledge, seemed to me to offer considerable help .... Marx's general analysis of social development seems to have been remarkably correct ...."[13] Therefore, the Congress-Socialists were attracted by Marxism, for it offered them with a philosophy, a dogma, a scientific method of studying the socio-economic problems and above all, a concrete programme of action in contrast to the traditional religious metaphysical way of looking at things.[14] Marxism further advocated the political phenomena of economic forces against capitalism through the changing economic forms of production and organisation. According to them 'the political subjugation and economic, degradation of India formed the direct result of capitalist system of production and distribution'. They believed in the emancipation of India from the capitalist - imperialist exploitation and of creating a healthy political, economic and social order to build a new India on the foundations of democracy and Socialism.[15] The Congress-Socialists were influenced by Marxian ideas of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and revolutionary stance and rooted in the humanist and liberal tradition of India's past. At the same time, they were more attracted by Western liberalism than that of the Marxian concept of dictatorship of the proletariat.[16] Socialism, according to them, turned out to be a new socio-economic order based on rationalism, secularism and scientific outlook as against ethical, conservative and revivalist approach of the orthodox nationalist leaders. When Marxists asserted that there could be no Socialism without a violent revolution, the socialists held aloft their ideology only as a gool.[17] Congress brand of Socialism therefore, worked as a complex form of ideologies - Marxism, Leninism, Fabian Socialism and some aspects of Gandhism and Humanism.[18] The Congress therefore, anticipated the operation of Socialism to be receptive to the moderate and non-violent methods of Gandhiji; but discarded the Communist methods of insurrection, violent

overthrow of the existing order and the dictatorship of the proletariat.[19] In contrast, a section of radical - nationalists e dissatisfied at the leadership of Gandhi and found Marxist - Leninist revolutionary doctrine as answer to it particularly after the suspension of Non- Co-operation Movement in 1922. M.N. Roy, an eminent activist and writer on Marxism identified Gandhiji with the feudal class interests of India and found ", Congress as a reactionary organisation under his leadership. Therefore, he suggested the revolutionary elements to form an opposite bloc within the Congress and lead the final political struggle.[20] Further, the Indian Marxists believed in Lenin's view that no transition from capitalism, to Socialism could be achieved without a civil war.[21] Even though Communism remained an alien ideology, the Bolshevik overthrow of Tsarist tyranny and the radical socio-economic changes that had followed, captivated the imagination of radically -oriented people of India. Kerala, as a highly literate and enlightened State seemed to be receptive to this ideology and visualised to experiment Marxian ideas into practical politics.

Emergence of Indian Working Class

The emergence of the Indian working class came to the anvil since 1850 Inconsequence of the establishment *of* modem industries. Since the vast expanse of the country were left out of bounds of these industries, the proletariat too localised in major cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur and Madras and in a smaller scale in a few other places as Cochin and Calicut. Such a trend worked against their consolidation as a homogenous class and affected its fast growth of class consciousness and revolutionary character. Labour legislations too were the not very much available for the benefit of the workers who reeled under the heavy work load of fifteen to eighteen hours at a stretch. The Employer's and workers (Disputes) Act, passed in 1860, was implemented first in Bombay and subsequently to the rest of the country. This Act, infact stifled the freedom of workers and empowered the employers even to fine or imprison workers on grounds of indiscipline.[22] S.S.Bangalee, a labour leader led an agitation in 1875 against the manufactures and factory owners and drew the attention of government and the people about the deplorable condition of workers, women and children. Upon his concerted efforts was passed the first Factory Act in 1881.[23] As a main feature, this Act banned child labour below seven years of age; but made it applicable in seasonal factories employing over 100 workers.[24] At Indian conditions where majority of the people had engaged in cottage industries, agricultural and the provisions of the Act hardly satisfied the aspirations of the working class.

It was Dinabandhu Mitra of Bengal, in his play *Nil Darpan (Mirror of Indigo)*, in 1860 who first highlighted the revolt of the suffering ryots to the attention of the general public.[25] However, the first organized attempt in mobilizing the textile workers of Bombay was made by a social worker N.M.Lokhunday. He convened a meeting of workers on 23 and 26 September 1884, prepared a memorandum signed by over 5500 workers and submitted it to the Commission on Labour appointed by the Government of Bombay. Subsequently on 24 April 1890 he founded the Bombay Mill-hands Association, advocated the cause of workers-and caused for unrest in industrial centers.[26] On 25 September 1890 the Government of India appointed the Factory Labour Commission with Lokhunday and three other Indian members. Based upon its recommendations the Factory Act was legislated in 1891. It restricted the working hours of children at nine hours, female workers at eleven hours and a weekly rest of one day; but left out the condition of male workers. Later the Indian Factory Act of 1911 fixed a twelve hours working time to cotton mill workers. meanwhile, strikes came to be organized as a method of redressing workers' grievances, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. At Surat, Bombay, Nagpur, Coimbatore, Madras, Ahmedabad and other industrial centers, the mill workers went to strike to ventilate their grievances during 1881-1898.[27]

Yet, the workers in general did not think in terms of class consciousness and their early associations helped them to understand the power of united action. The first decade of the twentieth century opened an era of rapid industrialization and the consequent mobilization of the labour force. The political impulses of the time, created on account of the Swadeshi Movement, goaded the working class with new orientation and perspectives. The Swadeshi Movement exerted some influence and awakened both the peasants and the landlords.[28] The impact, of First World War (1914-1918) further added to their pell-mell situation. Economic discontent and rise in cost of living[29] forced the organized workers to demand for higher wages, bonus, reduction of working hours, etc.[30] There arose a phenomenal growth of trade union movement since 1920 and there were sixty-four unions affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress with a total membership of 1,40,854.[31]

Mahatma Gandhi, on his entry in the national movement, took keen interest in the working class struggle. In 1917 the weavers of Ahmedabad organized themselves in strikes when the mill-owners had withdrawn certain already granted concessions during plague epidemic. Gandhiji entered the arena, started his historic hunger strike and amicably settled infavour of the labourers. During 1918-1920, the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association organized two strikes involving Over 30,000 workers.' However, the ardent spirit

generated by Gandhiji failed to Sustain for long among workers, for he could emerge only as leader of the bourgeoisie in the class struggle.[32] Consequently, the majority of working class found Marxian methods as a suitable forum in settling scores with the factory owners.

Evolution of Nationalist - Leftist Idea in India

The genesis of Leftist ideology in Travancore, to a considerable part, was influenced by the developments in India since the beginning of national movement. S.Rai Chowdhuri rightly puts it: Leftism in India emerged out of the matrix of the Indian National Movement. The starting point, therefore for any attempt to elucidate its ideologies and orientations must be the fact that it was both a nationalist and a revolutionary movement. The Leftist Movement was historically linked with India's struggle for freedom under the Indian National Congress and the ideologue leadership that sprang within it was naturally shaped by the ideas and modulations of the early nationalist leaders. The left-wing leadership within the Congress concentrated its entire attention on national liberation and propagated radical socio-economic changes only as a means of strengthening the nation ....[33]

The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 marked a significant stage in the growth of political consciousness and popular resistance in India. In the initial stages, the work of the Congress movement was within the constitutional limits and appeared less ideational in nature. The early leaders too were liberal minded who professed constitutional loyalty to the British Crown and maintained moderation, believing in the ultimate justice and liberality of the English nation. They particularly made passionate prayers and appeals to the good sense and democratic nature of the ruling nation. However, this trend was found unsuitable to the rising demand of extremist ideologies due to the unpopular measures of the Government on various fronts. It was Bal Gangadhara Tilak who 'seemed to be fittingly cut out for the role of an inspired prophet of a new nationalism in the country.[34] During 1891-1893, he raised opposition against cow slaughter and on slaughter and on questions relating to Age of Consent Bill. As a revolutionary step of reviving India's past he inaugurated Shivaji and Ganapathi festivals. Rallying the patriotic impulse of the extremist ideologue of the time, he composed stirring poems and ivered speech as below:

"We shall cut countless heads of enemies. Listen, we shall risk our lives on the battlefield in a national war; we shall shed upon the earth the life blood of the enemies who destroy our religion; we shall die after killing only while you will hear the story like women".[35]

In spite of the religious character of these festivals, when conducted annually, Imparted national awareness among the people. Besides, he continually, Imparted national awareness among the people. Besides, he contin-

ued the vehement attack of the British raj through his newspapers, *Maratha* and *Kesari*. The assassination of Rand, a plague officer and others followed in consequence of these developments. Tilak was arrested and sentenced to under go rigorous imprisonment of eighteen months for having published news about Shivaji festival in its issue of 15 June 1897. From the beginning of the twentieth century the 'Marathi press became more vehement and revolutionary in its tone' and editors and publishers fell victims of governmental repression.[36]

Nevertheless, it was in 1905 that 'the Indian Revolution began', which contributed to the consolidation of extremist ideology in the Indian political scene. As a regional movement it was started against the partition of Bengal; but it gradually widened itself by receiving effluents and tributaries and became a mighty torrent of nationalism before it merged itself into the broad stream of India's national struggle for freedom.[37] The period between the partition of Bengal (1905) and the beginning of the First World War (1914) witnessed tremendous change in the political situation in India, for extremist and revolutionary ideas' began to infiltrate into the ranks of the Indian National congress. Under the rude impact of partition, 'the floating ideas of Nationalism were crystallized into a creed, of which the essential components were *swaraj* and *swadeshi*.[38] To quote S.Rai Chowdhuri:

> The national upheaval following the partition of Bengal not only aroused the dormant political consciousness of the people but also gave new orientation and a definite shape to the spirit of nationalism. It brought into prominence a new weapon to fight the British, which was remote from all the previous methods of political agitation and bore an essentially modem and economic character-the weapon of boycott and *swadeshi*, that is refusal to buy foreign goods and the promotion of indigenous industry. [39]

Receiving inspiration from the cult of Nationalism, preached by Bankim Chandra Chatteryee, Vivekananda and others earlier, the revolutionary forces sprouted deeply during this period. Particularly Bankim Chandra's soul-stirring cry of *Bal1de Mataram* or 'Hail to. the Mother', as conceived in the *Ananda Math* became the hymn of Nationalism in India's struggle for freedom. The influence of its spirit 'on the new school of Left-wing Nationalism, known as the extremism in opposition to the moderates, that had emerged in the Indian political scene as a repercussion of the Swadeshi Movement',[40] changed the outlook of intellectual thinking of the time.

The hectic political activity that was started in the form of anti-partition campaign in Bengal soon spread to Maharasthtra and Madras. The newspapers carried its message to different parts of India. The *swadeshi* and boycott movements developed into a powerful political weapon and mighty tempest

revitalizing every part of national life.[41] This extremist group, led by the philosophical background of Aurobindo and Tilak basically differed from what had been hitherto followed by the moderate leadership of the Congress. When *Swadeshi* agitation moved beyond incalculable proportions, and as prominent leaders as Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and others joined in its ranks, the Extremist group turned *out* to be a revolutionary organization at the All India .I. Considering the British rule as an 'unmitigated evil', they believed Swaraj 'the birth light of every Indian and not a sort of gift, to be dales *out* by the British Government', In their ideology, they were firmly of the view that the Political mendicancy would never bring India near *Swara*. Accarding to them a needed to create her awn strength and compel Britain to part with power. They approached the question of violence and non-violence purely from the ,standpoint of political pragmatism and expediency'.[42] The anti-partition agitation brought the youth in the fare front who 'organised meetings, arranged demonstrations, roused enthusiasm, provided volunteers far *Swadeshi-baycatt* propaganda and picketed, and did everything they could to bend the rules to the public will. They suffered gladly far their devotion to. The national cause and were fined, expelled, even beaten and flagged. But the harsher their treatment, the mare rebellious became their *mood*.[43]

In consequence of these developments, the ranks of the Congress gradually came to be divided into. Maderates and Extremists. The issue-based difference widened the rift between them. Loyalty to. the English throne and continuance of British rule in India, the ultimate goal of the Congress and the question of constitutional agitation, farmed the issues upon which they clashed each ather.[44] At the Surat Session of the Congress in December 1907 the Extremists entered an a war path an the above issues which caused a virtual split.[45] Since the Maderates had retained control aver the Congress, the Extremists were excluded and isolated far police repressian.[46]

In the neighbouring Tirunelveli of the Madras Presidency, the partition agitation had produced violent reaction. In 1907 Bipin Chandra Pal visited Madras and addressed the, people about the need far an extreme political stand far the early liberation of India. As an ardent patriot, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai of Tuticorin embraced H.C.Pal's creed and challenged the supremacy of British monopoly of marine traffic by launching a Swadeshi Steam Navigation Companyed operated it between Colombo and tuticorin. Meanwhile, in a bid to curb the e of Nationalism, the Government imposed restrictions upon the press and leaders. V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, who had violated it, was arrested. The action of the police precipitated violent reaction leading to outbreak of violence at Tirunelveli and Tuticorin in 1908. This incident led to terrorist activities. Blaming Collector Ashe as responsible for it, Vanchi Aiyer,

a member of the Revolutionary Party assassinated him at Maniyachi Railway Junction in 1911.[47] Although these appeared as isolated events far away from Travancore, it stimulated the awakened youth about the need to enter the political movement with their counterparts in British provinces.

Rise of Leftism and Nationalism in South Kerala Meanwhile, Leftist ideas gained roots in Travancore under the initiative of K.Ramakrishna Pillai, a Radical journalist of Trivandrum. He was the editor and publisher of *Swadesabhimani*, a Malayalam periodical which was started in 1905.[48] In fact, he was the first author in any Indian language to write a biography of Karl Marx in 1912 and became a pioneer to inspire socialist consciousness.[49] However, provoked at his revolutionary writings, the Government suppressed the *Swadesabhimani* and the press was confiscated. Exiled out of the State, Ramakrishna Pillai died in Cananore in 1915.[50] Thereafter Marxism attracted little interest in any part of Kerala until the 1930s.[51]

The students of Trivandrum too took the lead in nationalist and Leftist politics in the State. In September 1919 Maharaja Sri Mulam Tirunal announced certain changes in the constitution of Legislative Council by introducing the Principle of direct election. Though the loyalist politicians accepted it, the liberal- minded among them interpreted it as a regression to direct autocratic rule.[52] When Government leaders held a meeting at Thampanoor, Trivandrum on 2 November 1919 in support of the reform, the students opposed it and organised demonstrations against them.[53] Reacting harshly, the administration employed force and put down the student movement.

The wave of national struggle under the Congress, however, received only limited impact on Travancore politics. In 1919 the nationalist young political leaders of Travancore organised a Congress committee at Trivandrum. A.K.Pillai, P.K.Kunju, David Mahapillai, Mathunni, C.Kesavan, V.Atchutha Menon, Jacob, Mammen Mahapillai and Y.Ramaswami Aiyar were associated with the Congress in its early days in Travancore. Meanwhile, in 1920 at the Malabar District Political Conference, held at Manjeri in Malabar district, the radical middle-class clamoured (or a militant political programme. During the Noij-Co-operation movement in 1920-21, the Student's Club, Trivandrum sponsored meetings in support of the Congress.[54] The political enthusiasm of the students, that was generated at this time led to the mass students' strike. Protesting against the enhancement of fees in the English and vernacular schools effective from 17 August 1921, the students of Trivandrum went on a strike from 25 August to 21 September 1921. The administration let loose a reign of terror and ruthlessly put down the agitation.[55] Yet, the strike left a lasting mark in the subsequent political develop-

ments for, from among the young student community emerged the later Leftist leaders.

The period between 1917and 1935 marked the growth of terrorist and revolutionary movements, spread of socialistic ideas, unrest among the working class leading to frequent strikes, the economic distress due to the depression of the thirties and finally disillusion among the young intelligentsia about turbulent political situation. Since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, there were indications Of increased activity on the part of the Bolsheviks and the Third International Disseminate their doctrines in India. M.N.Roy, an Indian Communist in Europe, campaigned to introduce Bolshevik type of Communism in India. In 1921 he visited Tashkent and selected about thirty persons for sending to Moscow for training as agitators.[56] In Madras these Communist ideologists operated among the laboures and peasants. On 1 May 1923 the Labour and Kisan Party of Hindustan was established in Madras with M.Singaravelu, M.P.S. Velayudhan and 'shnasami as members of the Centrai Committee. [57]

In Travancore the influence of Communist ideology mainly centred among working class. It should be noted that for long Travancore lagged behind in industrial sector. The coir fibre, available in plenty in the coastal areas of Alleppey attracted European capitalists to establish coir based industries. With Darrah Smail and Company as the first factory established in 1859, several European and Indian firms invested in the coir-related manufacturing products.[58] The acute unemployment and retarded socio-economic life among the agricultural sector attracted a large number of people towards work in the coir factories. They settled with what was paid as wages by the work contractors *(moopans)* and toiled from sun rise till dusk, longing to see the dawn of a bright and prosperous life. Grabbing absolute control over the factories, the *moopans* turned hard hearted creatures, inflicted harsh punishments and imposed huge fines on the hapless workers even on trivial grounds.[59] As early as 1894 the working in factories engaged the attention of the Government. The first Factory Act came into force in the state on 31 October 1913, on the lines of the Indian Factory Act of 1881;[60] but was applicable only to textile mills. Under such a pushed up situation the coir factory of labourers of Darrah Smail and Company, Alleppey raised their banner Of collective agitation' against the management for the first time in 1907. These who joined in the agitation were subjected to victimization by cutting wages and shifting their factories to' hinterlands and extracted work through contractors. Yet after prolonged discussion the management consented far one hour reduction in their warkload.[61] In 1922 M.K.Bawa, *moopan* of a coir factory with the support ff sacial worker P.S.Mahammed, M.K.Antany, a medi-

cal practitioner and Palpu Asan, a textile awner *taak* initiative far organizing a labaur unian.[62] As a result, the factary warkers organised themselves in trade unions and the first Travancore Labour Association was farmed at Alleppey an 26 April 1922.[63] The Leftist ideas thereafter mainly operated through this Association. Consequently, the working class *took* the lead in the spread of radical ideas even among the political activists. With socialistic doctrines spreading fast, there took place other developments which added to' the existing political situation. In April 1928 Lala Lajpat Rai, the extremist, Congress leader visited, Cochin and Travancore. Presiding the All-Kerala Tenants' Conference at Eranakulam on 17 April, he pointed *out* the position of tenants and counseled continued agitation. At Trivandrum an 19 April, he delivered a lecture an Hinduism and the tenets of Arya Samaj, emphasized the disabilities of the Hindus and strongly attacked the Brahmins far such deteriaratian.[64] His radical ideas an religious attachment contributed greatly far creating awareness among the educated youth to' work far the creation of a liberal society with political and economic freedom.

As elsewhere in India, since 1929 the Congress programmes engaged the keen attention of the political minded people particularly among the youth. When the Travancore situation did not attract far a political thinking of a high order, the Youth League activities in the Madras Presidency assumed an overall new Proportion. It should be noted that there was in existence the Madras League of Youth with Mrs.Lakshmipathi as its president. Attending the Lahare Session of The congress, she assimilated its spirit and wanted to add it with the political section of her organisation.[65] The Youth League activists in Madras and in the districts held many meetings,[66] tried to enlist volunteers and, took measures to collect funds.[67] They formed two Youth League branches in the districts too - one the Malappuram division of Malabar and the other at Tirumangalam in Madurai. Aimed at promoting the moral and physical well-being of the youths, they carried out whatever programmes, as decided by the Congress.[68] When the Congress celebrated the Independence Day in January 1930, the students of Trivandrum took active participation. It is due to this there developed rather 'disquieting symptoms of unrest and lack of discipline in some of the colleges at Trivandrum'. On 16 March 1930, the political activists organised a public meeting at Trivandrum in connection with the celebration of the second anniversary of the opening of a local *khaddar* shop. Here too the students mostly attended it. Again on 23 March 1930 some political-minded men, of Trivandrum held a private meeting. Attended by about twenty-five persons they decided to resuscitate the old local Congress Committee and to concert measures for the enlistment of volunteers in order to strengthen the satyagraha campaign.[69]

There were renewed political, activity in the State when the Indian National Congress launched the Civil Disobedience Movement in April 1930. The Trivandrum Congress Committee organised a public meeting in the city on 6 April to coincide with no-salt tax campaign at Dandi on that day. Attended by about 500 persons, the gathering passed resolutions supporting the anti-salt tax campaign and decided to establish an All Travancore Volunteer Corps. Added to this was the temperance movement which gathered momentum in the form of picketing particularly near Quilon and South Travancore.[70] Though the Congress men continued their activities in a mild form by holding meetings at Trivandrum, Nagercoil and other places, they intended to send more volunteers to join the Satyagrahis Malabar in British India. For this purpose they had enrolled over thirty four volunteers and kept ready to send them in batches.[71] Accordingly a band of enthusiastic and extremist young volunteers from Travimcore under the headship of Ponnara G.Sreedhar, K.Kumar and Amsi Narayana Pillai on 2 May 1930 started their march along the west-coast and joined the satyagrahis of Malabar.[72] However, when they completed their march the number of volunteers increased to twenty four. Another small batch of volunteers headed by Dr.M.E.Naidu, a local physician, including one woman left Nagercoil on 23 May;[73] but were arrested and jailed, -with the leader being sentenced to one year's imprisonment.[74] The press in Travancore congratulated the satyagrahis who had left Trivandrum for Payyannur. Hailing it as a good symptom of political awakening in the State, *Samadarsi*, a Malayalam paper wished them all success and exhorted those who could not take part, to help with money and moral support.[75] Another paper condemned the police atrocities against the satyagrahis and their sympathisers and alleged about harassment on those who were confined in jails.[76] Inspite of this the political-minded volunteers of Travancore, in batches continued to arrive at Calicut from time to time and took part in the civil disobedience activities.[77] Nevertheless, the interest in salt movement soon died out among the Congress activists while the movement advocating the sale of *khaddar* and prohibition of liquor gained prominence since June 1930.[78] Particularly the temperance movement continued to be strong around Quilon with picketing of liquor and drug shops and it gained sufficient popularity among all classes. It also considerably reduced the excise revenue owing to the Government failure to get shops auctioned.[79] Yet, this movement did not spread parts of the State.[80] It should be noted that a section of the Travancore political leaders took Part in the Congress programmes not *out* of their attachment with Gandhi or his ideologies but just to keep the people involved in some form of political fervour. To quote Robbin Jeffrey, " .... until it had local roots, 'nationalism in Travancore could therefore mean little more than newspaper accounts of Congress activities in

British India".[81] As an instance the *khaddar* and Gandhi caps had never become fashionable in Travancore. Though a few students wore them, these were not popularly used even by ardent Congressites except at meetings and processions. Yet, in order to carry conviction to the masses, the Congress men started a *khaddar* factory at Trivandrum in July 1930.[82] The movement against foreign clothes continued to prevail in Travancore under the direction of the Kerala Congress Committee. One Oomen Varghese of Cochin took active interest in this. It was reported that he even served an ultimatum to the merchants of Alleppey area to cease selling British clothes by 10 February 1931. Besides, K.Kumar, an ex-satyagraha convict and a well-known agitator started a Congress office at Alleppey and carried on boycott work very well. [83] He was the first person to hoist the national flag in Travancore State at Alleppey on 9 February 1931.[84] Further any important development in India during this time had its impact on Trivandrum as well. On 6 February the students of colleges and schools in Trivandrum observed hartal in connection with Motilal Nehru's death. They went in procession through the town with national flags and black badges and insisted on shops and banks closing and used even force where it was found necessary.[85] Inspite of the fact that the Congress had strictly banned Civil Disobedience Movement in princely states, these radical political could not be deterred from Their activities as they considered national movement as part and parcel of their struggle.

While associating themselves with the Congress programmes of agitation, The Travancoreans did not neglect their own political advancement under a princely system. Closely watching the improvement III the constitutional experiments in British India, they too urged for similar reforms including achievement of Responsible Government in the State. The press in Travancorepublished leading articles and editorials highlighting the general political aspirations of the people. In an editorial on 11 May 1930, *Malayala Rajyam*, a local daily wrote: ... though the States' people can be said to be standing aloof from the main currents of British Indian politics, demanding the right of Responsible Government from their own rulers, recent events in British India seem to have the effect of obliterating all the old difference between British and Indian India. We do not think that at the present phase of advance in the people's outlook and strength they will be satisfied with their old prayers for instalments of Responsible Government. Their prayers are liable to change into demands, demands that might be irresistible. The Indian princes, weak as they are, are following in the wake of the Paramount Power ... The Indian princes will be doing the greatest service to their people and to India in particular, if they realised the psychology of the present situation and immediately introduce Responsible Government in their states

without adopting the procrastinating tactics of the British administrators. Any further delay in taking the inevitable step would mean further estrangement between the rulers and the ruled.[86]

National Leadership and Temple Entry

The national identity gained much acceptance among Keralites upon Mahatma Gandhi's involvement at the Vaikkam temple entry movement. It seemed to be a progressive step taken to solve the problem of social inequality and to secure elementary civic rights for the depressed classes. Even though veral several caste groups of the *avarnas* were denied of temple entry, it was the Ezhavas, the largest Hindu population in Travancore who first realised these disabilities and raised opposition against it. [87] T.K. Madhavan (1885-1930), a man of remarkable talents, organising ability and political vision, spearheaded the movement for social justice.[88] The earliest move for temple entry assumed public attention through an article in the Malayalam weekly *Desabhimani*, published from Quilon in 1919. As its editor T .K. Madhavan projected the right of temple entry to all Hindus as a demand.[89] Soon the demand for temple entry came to be raised on the floor of Travancore Legislature. During 1919 and 1921, T.K.Madhavan and Kunju Panikkar, social activists moved revolutions in the Sri Mulam Assembly. The Government turned down these on the ground that it was a religious issue.[90] On 12 December 1919 over 5000 Ezhavas of Karichikulangara ,near Mararikulam organist(d a meeting under the leadership of C.V. Kunjuraman" editor of *Kausthubham* to secure admission into temples and level up all differences in Hindu society.[91]

During this period the issue of untouchability engaged the attention of all- India national leaders. Inspired by Gandhian leadership in the national - movement T.K.Madhavan closely watched the all India trends. When Mahatma Gandhi visited Tirunelveli, the neighbouring District of Madras Province, he presented to him the grievances of the lower classes.[92] The Congress Session at Kakinada in 1923 passed a resolution to take steps for the eradication of untouchability in India. The expectation on national leadership appeared more pronounced from Travancore that T.K.Madhavan, K,P .Kesava Menon and K.M.Panikkar attended it for guidance.[93] Accordingly the Kerala Provincial congress Committee authorised K. Kelappan Nair, T.K. Madhavan, K. Velyudha Menon and V. Sankaran N ambudiripad to tackle this problem on an urgent basis. Enlightened social activists as Sri Narayana Guru, N. Kumaran an and T.K.Madhavan waged a war against social disabilities and the necessity to eradicate it. [94]

The Kerala Provincial Committee entrusted the work to K. Kelappan, T .K. Madhavan, Kurur Nilakantan Nambudiripad, T.K. Krishnaswamy Iyer and K.

Velayudha Menon. In their attempt to spread the ideals among the masses, they conducted propaganda tours and public meetings at several places. In a meeting held at Quilon on 6 February 1924 it was resolved to work for temple entry for the depressed classes and for their freedom of movement on all public roads.[95] Accordingly on 30 March 1924 a satyagraha campaign was started in front of the temple at Vaikkam in Central Travancore. A band of volunteers led by K.P. Kesava Menon walked to the temple precincts; but were served with ban orders by the District Magistrate. In defiance batches of volunteers staged satyagraha and courted arrest. The Kerala Hindu Sabha, the Kshatriya Mahasabha, the Nair Service Society, the Yogakshema Sabha, leading social organisations extended their support to the movement.[96] The satyagraha assumed all-India significance. Leaders like Swami Sradhanandha and Srinivasa Iyengar visited Vaikkam and offered generous help to the satyagrahis. On 29 April 1924 a party of twelve Akalis led by Lala Lal Singh and Kripal Singh arrived in Madras from Amritsar on their way to Vaikkam.[97] They were received at the Madras Central Station by T. Prakasam and V.S. Venkatramanand entertained at the *Swarajya* office.[98] Volunteers from different places took part in the Satyagraha. A band of volunteers from Madurai led by E.V. Ramasamy Naicker reached Vaikkam; but was arrested. The treatment meted out to him created unsatisfactory sentiments. He was treated as an ordinary convict at the Central Prison, Trivandrum, compelled to wear jail clothes and ankle iron and confined in a solitary cell away from other satyagraha pnsoners.[99]

On 7 August 1924 Sri Mulam Tirunal, the ruler passed away and Maharani sethu Lakshmi Bai (1924-1931) was proclaimed Regent. Advi,sed by Gandhiji, the satyagrahis met the Regent in person and submitted a memorial. Two jathas, *one led* by Mannathu Padmanabha Pillai from Vaikkam and another led by M.E . . Naidu from Suchindrum near Nagercoil reached Trivandrum on 1 and 7 November respectively. A deputation of the volunteers under the leadership of Changanacherry K.Parameswaran Pillai waited upon the Regent and submitted a memorial. [100] The Regent agreed to consider their grievances favourably; but as this appeared unsatisfactory, they continued the picketing. On 10 March 1925 Gandhiji visited Vaikkam and as a result of an agreement reached between the Government and Gandhiji all roads excepting those on the eastern side of the temple, were opened to the *avarnas* with effect from 7 April 1925. Now they continued the satyagraha on the road in the eastern side; but was withdrawn on the advice of Gandhiji on 23 November 1925.[101] The Vaikkan Satyagraha, which assumed all-India significance, had greatly contributed to the social awakening in the State. It was followed by a forcible demand throughout the State for temple entry. In Janu-

ary 1926 a similar satyagraha campaign was organised at the Suchindrum temple for gaining the right of entry into the roads around it for the depressed classes.[102] Led by M.E. Naidu, the satyagraha continued for about a month and was withdrawn on receiving assurances from the Government.[103] However, on account of the pressure exerted by a few orthodox Hindus, the Government evaded the issue. In October 1927 Gandhiji visited Travancore again and held discussions with Diwan M.E.Watts. He tried to seek a peaceful settlement of the Suchilldrum agitatio,n, but failed. In consequence, the campaign was resumed in May 1930. Gandhi A. Raman Pillai who led the satyagraha, was arrested and agitators were prevented from entering the streets around the temple.[104] "By this time the problem of 'untouchables' became a matter of concern to the Congress leaders"[105]

On 8 November 1932, bowing to mounting opposition to its policy, the Government appointed a Committee with V.S. Subramonia Iyer, retired Diwan of Travancore as president to enquire and prepare a report on this issue. In its report submitted on 11 January 1934 the Committee recommended measures for the upliftment of the *avarnas* educationally, socially and economically and suggested that distance pollution or *teendal* should be removed by appropriate legislative measures, subject to reservations in the matter of entry into temples and into their adjuncts like temple tanks, wells, etc. [106] The Government accordingly decided to throw open all public roads, public tanks, public wells, etc. for the use of all commumties.[107] Yet, the campaign for temple entry continued under the auspices of the Kerala Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, an organisation formed for the upliftment of the depressed classes. It organised an All-Kerala Temple Entry Conference at Trivandrum on 9 and 10 May 1936.[108] The Conference urged upon the Government to open all State controlled temples to depressed classes and decided to send a deputation to wait upon Maharaja Sri Chitra Tirunal (1931-1948) and to present a memorial. On 8 October 1936 C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar was appointed Diwan. On 3 November the deputation which consisted of M. Govindan, K.G. Kunjukrishna Pillai, K.P.Nilakanta Pillai, V. Atchuthan and G. Ramachandran waited upon the Diwan and submitted a memorial signed by over 50,000 people of caste-Hindus praying for temple entry for the depressed, Classes [109] Advised by the new Diwan and following the example of Cochin, the asse. Maharaja issued the Temple Entry Proclamation on 12 November 1936.[110] This progressive reform, throwing open all temples to the depressed and backward classes, was widely welcomed. Acclaimed as the 'most beneficent and epoch- making reform introduced in Hindu society,[111] it brought about a healthy change in the religious and social life of a large section of the people. To commemorate this event, the Temple Entry

Memorial Endowment erected a statue of Maharaja Sri Chitra Tirunal at Trivandrum. In January 1937 Gandhiji visited Travancore on a pilgrimage to witness the joy of emancipation from 'age-old shackles'. Yet the proclamation was not an end in itself; but the beginning of social amelioration for [112] the depressed classes.

In spite of the efforts of Diwan Ramaswami AiYilr, political motive was attached with this speedy measure. It was argued that 'by the 1930's lakhs of *avarnas* had accepted Christianity in order to escape the rigors of Hinduism[113] The report of the Temple Entry Committee by V.S.Subramania Aiyar published on 21 April 1934 did not satisfy the sentiments of the Ezhavas. The Government announced that all public roads, public tanks, public wells, chatrams, etc., maintained out of general public funds shall be open to all classes of people irrespective of the caste to which they belonged.[114] In reality the proclamation was followed by the framing of a set of rules to regulate the worship in the State- owned and public temples to preserve proper atmosphere in the temple precincts. These rules provided for the observance and maintenance of customs and usages relating to worship and ceremonies in temples. They also specified the classes of who should not enter the temples. Even though Gandhiji held that the rules were being sympathetically administered and that there was a wonderful change in the life, attitude and behaviour of the depressed classes,[115] the fact remained otherwise.

Dissatisfied at the royal proclamation, a section of the numerically strong Ezhavas decided for a mass conversion to Christianity. C.V.Kunjuraman (1871--1949), emerged as the leader of this group and through a publication he explained the reasons for this decision.[116] When the Christian congregations expressed happiness at this decision, a section of *savarna* leaders as Mannathu padmanabhan, Changanacherry K.Parameswaran Pillai, G.P. PIllai, T.K. Velu Pillai, Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, George Joseph and others became aware of the gravity of the situation. As an ardent opponent of Christian growth in Travancore, the new Diwan C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar saw wisdom in advising the Maharaja for granting temple entry.[117] Yet another reason appeared rather political than religious. In December 1932 the Christian, Ezhava, Muslim and other backward classes constituted a political body called the All Travancore Joint Political Congress and decided to work for their political advancement. When the Travancore administration announced a constitutional reform retaining the elements of Monarchy and the supremacy of Diwan as the top executive head, this new political body launched an agitation urging the people to abstain from electiogs .. *The nivartanam* or abstention movement as it was commonly called, continued from 1933 to 1936 and ended favourably conceding to the main demand of Joint Political Congress for res-

ervation of seats. With the end of the agitation in August 1936, this political party became the accredited organisation of the backward classes and created a conducive atmosphere for garnering more Political demands including the demand for Responsible Government. Having assumed the diwanship at this juncture in October 1936, Ramaswami Aiyar appeared to keep *the* Temple Entry Proclamation as a cover to suppress any form subsequent political agitation. The repressive and heinous measures that he d adopted during the struggle for Responsible Government in the State during 1938-1939 served as an instance point.

Nevertheless, the voluntary sponsorship of Indian National Congress in the temple entry movement worked to boost the expectation of princely Travancore for political guidance and support. The leadership of Mahatma Gandhi at the Vaikkam Satyagraha on the other hand, stimulated the enthusiasm of even dormant socio-political aspirants towards solidarity on nationalist plank. With such an ardent and kindled spirit on a higher national perspective being articulated in the ranks of the different cross section of the people, the determination to attain their cherished ultimate political goal appeared a matter of immediate necessity. On a further positive look the temple entry proclamation, despite its nullification of an age long awaited social discrepancy, had loosened the rigidity of caste pollution towards a process of political regimentation.

Initiation of Radical Youth League

In the meantime, apart from the Congress movement, leaders holding Leftist views as A.B.Salem and G.Sreedhar adopted independent line of action for a healthy and radical form of political progress. Such moves became clearly evident in the northern taluks of Sherthalai and Alleppey where considerable political and social activity gained ground since the Vaikom Temple Entry Satyagraha in 1924, visited by Gandhi [119] As an offshoot of the new political orientation, generated as a result of the national movement, mushroom political organisations sprouted since April I930-the Aesthetic League, Revolutionary League, Youth League Labour Association and others. These associations were all sponsored by local Congress extremists who themselves were influenced by British Cochin and Cochin State under the leadership of A.B.Salem. These youth bodies took up temperance as a useful cloak for spreading extremist ideas. [120]

The spurt in the rise of political groups culminated into the efforts of leaders for launching a party for the redress of their political urge. Accordingly on 19 December 1930, a group of enthusiastic political leaders convened a meeting in a specially erected pandal at Trivandrum and organised a

political party called Travancore State Congress presided over by A.Thanu Pillai, a prominent local advocate, the meeting was attended by over 300 persons. The gathering elected M.E.Itticheriya as its president. The aims and objectives of the Congress were

1) The immediate attainment of Responsible Government in Travancore with universal adult suffrage by all legitimate and peaceful means,
2) to secure immediately for the people of Travancore the freedom of speech, press and worship; freedom from arrest, detention, externment and internment except under process of law and freedom from punishment except by open trial
3) the promotion of inter-communal harmony and co-operation and the
4) 4) complete eradication of untouchability. [121]

From the beginning of 1931, the leaders of this newly constituted Party engaged

In the formation of sabhas and branches at different places. As reported by the Police Officer, "If such sabhas and branches are formed, and the present enthusiasm continues, I anticipate that the State will find these organisations extremely trouble some".[122]

The public thirst during this time was so overwhelming, for political rights and privileges became day-to-day dream among the educated intelligentsia. Negatively the traditional monarchical order in the State influenced by a corrupt and outmoded official lobby failed to notice the reality of the situation. On the other side, the formation of the Travancore state congress by a group of moderate nationalist leadership was not to the satisfaction of the radical ideologue who visualised an extreme political stand. Under these circumstances was founded in 1931 the All-Travancore Youth League at Trivandrum with Ponnara G.Sreedhar as President, N.P.Kurukkal as Organizing Secretary and N.C. Sekhar, G. Chandrasekhara Pillai, Tiruvettar Thanu Pillai and others as members.[123] This first proto-Marxist organisation' was also called Communist League.[124] As the rallying centre of radical elements, the Youth League soon emerged as the bodiment of splinter political groups and formulations. Explaining its aims and objectives, N.P. Kurukkal circulated copies of a printed pamphlet in English entit1ed, The Indian Communist Party - Kerala Provincial Organisation.[125] As its primary objective the Communist Party emphasised the need of establishment of complete *swarajya* and the system of society based upon the common ownership and control of the means and instruments of production and distribution of wealth by and in the interest of the whole community of India. It aimed at the organisation of three kinds of workers - residential areas, country peasants' areas and in-

tellectual middle class - and to establish permanent connection between the intellectuals and the workers. For the attainment of these objectives, the Party took the method of conducting propaganda in non-literary working masses as trade union workers and peasants and winning majority of them by active participation in their every day struggle and securing for themselves the leadership. In principle, the Communist Party emphasised its determination to enter the field of political action and to supersede all such parties awowedly capitalist in nature and speedy termination of such a system which deprived them of the fruits of their labour replacing poverty to comfort, privileges to equality and slavery to freedom.[126] Sharply reacting to the dissemination of radical and socialistic views, the Government proscribed the circulation of this pamphlet Within the State.[127] Undeterred by this, a champion of revolutionary ideas, Kurukkal approved the political tactics of Bhaghat Singh and his men and attacked Gandhjan methods of non-violence and passive resistance.[128] In ber 1931 the League involved in the picketing of foreign cloth shops at drum and Alleppey along with the Congress leaders. In this attempt

P.Krishna Pillai, Syed Muhammed and K.A. Damodara Menon, the Leftist Congress leaders from Malabar guided them.[129] Nevertheless, since the termination of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1934 this discontented group felt a vacuum in national struggle. Influenced by socialist ideas, a section among them led by Jayaprakash Narayanan organised the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Its Kerala branch was established by young socialists under the leadership of P.Krishna Pillai and E.M.S.Nambudiripad, who concentrated their work among student groups,[130] teachers, peasants and industrial workers. In Travancore they began their work among, the poverty-stricken coir. workers of Alleppey in collaboration with the All Travancore Youth League.[131]

However, the eagerness of this Radical group to initiate independent political proramme could not be achieved due to the lack of sound organisational setup, governmental measures of repression and the volatile communal situation that prevailed in the State as a result of the Abstention Movement. [132] Yet, in order To uphold its ideology and with a view to maintaining its identity as a political force, the Youth League held annual sessions and passed resolutions urging upon the Government to grant Responsible Government in the State.[133] In fact, the youth League was endowed with its spirit of radical ideologies; but the communal ion and the lack of organisational strength stood as obstacles to the rapid spread of its ideals. The Leftist and nationalist ideologies had genesis from the evolving diverse socia-political currents in the State. To begin with, it centered around a few individuals in towns and villages as opposed to caste-system and social restrictions. Therefore even in caste-based associations there arose a group of expressed itself with the de-

mand for a due share in the administrative and legislative bodies. The influence of socialistic ideas since 1917 and the struggle for freedom quickened the process of the splinter factions into well-knit political associations of which the Travancore Youth worked as a central unifying force of the Leftists. Under its banner the consolidated their activities taking advantage of the political crisis in the State generated on account of the struggle for Responsible Government. Until radicalism worked as a subordinate trend of the national movement. The working class movement at the global and national level inspired the left-oriented youth to concentrate upon this neglected section. Ultimately, workers, peasants and other unorganised and marginalised labour force turned out to be the central base for Leftist consolidation.

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132 In 1932 Maharaja Sri Chitra Tirunal (1931-1948), introduced a constitutional reform which provided for an electoral scheme based upon property qualifications. As the Nair community formed the major land-owning class, the Ezhavas, the Muslims and the Christians opposed it and demanded reservation of seats in proportion to their population. When the Government refused to yield to their demands, they launched an agitation commonly called the Abstention movement against the holding of elections based on the modified scheme. This agitation which Kindled communal rivalry between the Nairs and the backward classes contmued for four years from 1933 to 1936. Though the Government conceded to their demands in August 1936, the communal feelings, that the agitation had kindled worked against the political solidarity and united action. (For details see Kusuman, K.K ., *The Abstention Movement*, Trivandrum 1976 1976,pp.31-70)

133 Sreedhara Menon, A., *Kerala District Gazetteers,* Trivandrum District Trivandrum. 1962, p.246.

TRACING THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE KERALA MODEL

S. Krishnakumar

The development experience of Kerala, the southwestern state of India has attracted attention from policymakers and academicians worldwide. The performance of Kerala with respect to indicators like life expectancy, infant mortality rate, literacy rate(particularly amongst the females) and the favourable sex ratio are comparable to those achieved by the developed world, not to mention about the states within the Indian Union, with relatively higher per capita incomes.[1] This possibility of the coexistence of better performance on the physical quality of life index on the social front, with low per capita income is widely being discussed as Kerala Model in the arena of development studies.[2] The accomplishments of Kerala reveal that the well-being of the people can be improved upon, even at low levels of per capita income, with concerted public action and intervention.

Many scholars have attributed the emergence of the Kerala model to the large expenditure incurred by the enlightened governments in the state on public health and education.[3] But much beyond the public expenditure is the story of the factors that went behind the same becoming inclusive and all-accommodating. History bears testimony to the fact that more than the sheer benevolence of the rulers, this would not have happened but for the concerted social movements which have gone into the same. The movements demanding the social reform of religion, right from the latter part of the

nineteenth century, the self-respect movements of the depressed against the practice of pollution and distance, the movements against the dress codes imposed by ritual status, the trade union and political movements relating to representation, workers rights and educational demands, and over and above all, the peasants movements demanding tenancy rights and land reform, have contributed substantially to the making of the Kerala Model.

This paper intends to provide an overview of the historical embeddedness of the Kerala model and tries to trace it to the struggles which focused on rights conscientisation amidst the masses, which has been a continuing phenomenon. It tries to further the argument that the legislations clinched over years in the Kerala polity was the fruition of social struggles which went into the same. Had the same come as part of the benevolence of the rulers, it would have just been law in the letter and not in practice. The paper is divided into four sections. The first two sections give an overview of the protest and reform movements in Travancore. The third gives an overview of the political and social movements in Malabar. The last section makes some concluding observations

I

Early Stirrings of Protest and Reform in Travancore (1850-1914)

The last half of the nineteenth century was witness to manifold changes in the world economy: the opening up of the Suez Canal, reduction in transportation costs, the abolition of slavery in the United States and the classical international division of labour based on the Ricardian notion of comparative advantage. The growing demand for spices and semi-manufactured goods like coir and coir products in the world markets of Europe and America was proving to be a boon for Travancore. Given the tropical climate suited for the cultivation of plantation crops, extensive tracts in the state, towards the east of Kottayam and southern Travancore was witness to growth of plantations. This also engendered the creation of a labour force, which were largely met from the Tamil population. Travancore was able to make a fortune out of the rise in the price of coffee in the international markets. Though the coffee wilt disease had resulted in some losses, this was further made up by gains in the cultivation of tea. Other than the Europeans, it was largely the Syrian Christians who took to the cultivation of the plantation crops. In fact, it could undoubtedly be stated that when in the nineteenth century there was a favourable shift in the terms of trade of agriculture in the world market, Kerala benefited from the same.

But it should also be noted that the domestic Travancore economy was witness to a lot of churning. The state formation in modern Travancore under

Marthanda Varma, while it happened in the backdrop of the defeat of the warring feudal lords, who had to be curtailed and contained, there had to be a necessary redistribution of privileges, some in the form of appeasement and rest indeed to consolidate. In fact the dominant entry of the non-Malayali Brahmins into the administrative scheme of things was largely due to the mistrust of the state nurtured against the people from within. The five tier system of the Travancore society with the native and non-Malayali Brahmins, Nairs, Syrians, Ezhavas and Nadars (backward castes), and the Pulayas and Pariahs(slave castes) and the inter relationships as it evolved over the course of the latter half of the nineteenth century was setting the contours of political and economic change in the twentieth century.

The marriage customs and the *sambarndham* was putting the Nambudiris to a condition where exertion of labour was minimal. Moreover the *uttupuras* and the associated expenditure, a big leakage of government expenditure though, was able to keep the non-Malayali Brahmins in good humour. The ostentatious expenditure with respect to the *poonool* ceremony of the princes, the death ceremonies of the members of the royalty, the *murajapam* festivities and the *uttupura* expenditure left very less of resources for the other developmental activities. The roads at disrepair were coming as a bottleneck to the development of the plantation economy, the regions to which access through waterways was minimal.

In any case the most important source of revenue in Travancore, like in any other agrarian economy was the land revenue, next to which was the revenue accruing from pepper monopoly. The pepper monopoly was an important cause for tension amidst the ryots, who found that they were not being remunerated commensurate to the prices in the international market, following which there was large scale development of black marketing. The corrupt Nair officials in charge of pepper monopoly were making things more complicated for the state. The abolition of the pepper monopoly, which instead was substituted with an export duty in November 1860 saw a big upswing with respect to trade in pepper and related spices from the port of Alleppey.

More important than this, was the abolition of the *uliyam* system of labour, where labour was counted for nothing in the execution of works under the Travancore government. In 1865-6 around 10000 labour from the Ezhava and other depressed castes were put on daily wages in employment, wherein they were getting four *annas* per day, as against the alternative earlier wage which was one-third to one-fourth of the current one. The establishment of PWD witnessed the entry of contractors, hailing largely from the non Malayali Brahmin, Syrian and Nair communities. The scope of public works was up

scaled from a measly sum of Rs 38850 in 1855 to Rs 21.2lakhs in 1875-76(ie around 25% of the budget). The positive externalities of the same benefited the development and growth of Kottayam due to the growth of transportation facilities in the region[6].

Incidentally, it was during the last decades of the nineteenth century that Travancore ceased to be a food exporting country. The growing demand for foodgrains from the working poor and the tenants, thanks due to comprehensive shift to a wider expansion of wage- labour system in the PWD(following the coming to an end of the *uliyam* system), the abolition of slavery and the labour markets which emerged in the plantations forced Travancore to resort to imports from Madras. It is a matter to be investigated as to whether given the low rate of growth of productivity of foodgrains in the colonial period[7], in a decade which was notorious for famines preceded by the decline in the total aggregate production of foodgrains[8], the situation in neighbouring Madras Presidency was made worse off, and the people there had to bear the brunt of social reform enunciated in Travancore.

Over and above this, was the decision to grant rights to sell the *sirkar pattam* lands, the most important beneficiaries of which were the Nairs. This was opening the possibility of making around 200000 acres of land alienable. Now the demand for partition from within the family could not be denied under the justification that the land available with the *taravad* was unsaleable. It might be reminded that the social institution of *marumakkatayam* had by now outlived its significance. The cash economy which churned out opportunities of employment in the government to Nairs, who had favourable educational attainments saw tension brewing in many *taravads*, wherein the *karanavar* was unwilling to address the educational demands of nephews whom he could afford to ignore. Tendencies of individualism slowly started creeping in, with some demanding partition. Those not in the good humour of the *karanavar* was always at the receiving end. The internal feuds between the *karanavar* and other members demanding partition was on the ascendancy. The partition related cases, which were on the ascendancy was clearly reflective of the inability of this institution to stand the test of time. Not only to meet the litigation expenditure, but also to meet the other ostentatious expenditure, land started increasingly being sold by different families, the major gainers in this course being the Syrians and the Ezhavas[9]. Not only were some of the conscientious educated Nair youth concerned about the in egalitarianism in the *marumakkatayam* system, with respect not only to education ,but individual rights, but many amidst them became vocal critics of the lose *sambandham* sort of relationships which was not taken in good taste by other communities.[10]

The abolition of slavery in 1855, following the pressures on the Government of Madras , through the Resident, though had favoured the slave castes of Travancore, resulted in a big cash outflow as far as the Nairs were concerned. The immediate provocation from the part of the government that lest they took to formal training and education in the government schools which were upscaled, and further took to higher education in liberal arts colleges they would be out of jobs, made all the differences. The period witnessed substantial increase in literacy and educational attainments, amidst the Nairs, who in due course were able to consolidate their position in the government. Nonetheless their ego clashes and antagonism against the growing non-Malayali Brahmin presence in the Travancore administration, particularly in the higher echelons, found representation in the Malayali Memorial, which was submitted under the leadership of K P Sankara Menon, and others. The brain behind the same, G Parameswaran Pillai was comparing the whole of the Malayali Memorial to the Chartist Movement in England. Towards widening the scope of the disgruntled groups, he solicited the support of Dr. Palpu and Fr. Nidhiry, the latter who refused to sign, but only supported.

As against the Malayali Memorial, came the counter-Memorial, which argued that "intellectual and moral worth and professional attainments alone must be the qualification of government employment".[11] Branding the Malayali Memorial, which gave the call *'Travancore for Travancoreans'*, as Nair Memorial, E Ramier had in his counter Memorial, P C Joseph, Editor *Travancore Times*, clearly reflective of the attitudes of the LMS missionaries towards the move.

Antagonism was brewing up in the Syrian Community, which on the one hand felt that their representation in the government was too less, the jobs when given were in the departments related to cardamom and forests, where they had to work with the tribals under hostile health conditions. With the growing economic clout due to the booming plantation economy, the wasteland development undertaken in the Kottayam- Madurai Road, the number of joint stock companies registered by the Syrians, their domination in the newspaper business of Travancore, their diversified professional base as clerical and managerial staff in the plantations, it was thought that the time was opportune for them to communicate their demand for representation in the different positions in the government as well as in the legislature to Dewan Krishnaswami Rao, which they did in 1899. They had also expressed their resentment against the efforts of the government towards wielding control in schools through the process of grant-in-aid.

Prior to the formation of the SNDP Yogam, various organizations uniting the interests of the Ezhava community were present in different localities. Dr Palpu, who, despite being educationally qualified was denied right to job in the Travancore government, took to the consolidation of the community. Conveying to the Travancore government, the situation of the Ezhavas was the Ezhava Memorial, submitted in 1895, for which around 13000 signatures were collected.[12] Many were reluctant to sign the same, despite the language used in the memorandum being most respectful to the Maharaja. Most of the community was afraid of the dire consequences; they would face from the Nair officials, who were in good positions in the government, contrary to the propaganda, which they had unleashed in the course of the Malayali Memorial. In any case, the Ezhava Memorial insisted on the government to address the issues of the Ezhavas with respect to employment in government and education in schools funded by the government.[13]

The significant rate of growth of exports of coconut and related products in the course of the 1870s to 1890s, with export of copra rising from Rs 21.06 lakhs to Rs 42.37 lakhs, coir exports rising from Rs 9.271akhs to 26.22 lakhs witnessed the community related to coconut and coconut related occupations witnessing a favourable terms of trade. The managerial jobs in plantations and teaching jobs were shifting the terms of trade in favour of the Syrians too. Their presence in trading into the domestic interior and plantations further boosted their incomes. Though of course favorable external environment improved the lot of these communities, it was precisely through their organized moves that they could capitalise on the same and demand further rights from the government. The last decades found the same presuming better shape and form.

Providing an inspirational leadership for the Ezhava community in particular and the backward communities in general was Sri Narayana Guru, whose indepth knowledge of *Saiva Siddhantha*, and awareness of Sanskrit and Tamil, gave the community, a model of social upliftment largely based on the principles of Sanskritisation. Distilling succinctly the essence of *Isopanishad* the Guru had authored a Malayalam version of the same. Though spiritualistic, he underlined the importance of material development, insofar as the self respect of the community ought to be achieved.

Harsh critic though he was of the elaborate customs and practices being observed by various communities, Guru was more inclined towards leading the self respect movement of the community from within the Hindu faith. The consecration of the Siva idol at Aruvippuram in 1889 was a spiritual act which was viewed with antipathy by the forward castes. Replying that it was an Ezhava Siva that he had consecrated, the Guru was ushering in the beginning of the religious reform of the caste-ridden Hinduism.

The SNDP Yogam, formed in 1903, as stated in its preamble, was started with the explicit objective to encourage and inculcate religious and secular education and ignite industrious habits within the Ezhava community.[14] The Yogam took the lead in promoting monogamy in the community and in bringing to an end the practice of *talikettu kalyanam*. The Guru considered the importance of education and industry in the liberation of the backward castes. Addressing an audience in Trivandrum, Guru himself had insisted that "one should get rid of the current practice of exporting bask and importing coir products, we should send people out to the industries abroad and get them to learn these industrial practices". In his memoirs on Guru, Kesavan Vaidyar observes that on the arrival of a wealthy merchant from Madras to Sivagiri, who offered help to the Mutt, Guru requested him to send some instructors who could impart knowledge related to machinery to the students at the school run by the Mutt. With an explicit purpose of introducing the members of the community to the various techniques in production, the Yogam took the lead in conducting the first ever industrial exhibition in the entire history of the country in Kollam in 1905. The successful conduct of the exhibition was followed by a period of Nair-Ezhava riots in the region.

The focus of the Yogam in inculcating habits of savings and thrift was fast bearing fruit. Not only were the Ezhavas, the single largest component of the worker group as per the 1901 Census, with labour employed in almost all industries in Travancore which in the initial stages of the twentieth century was witness to a process of proto_industrialisation., but 21 % of the traders in the region were also from the community. The inability of the community to enter into the government service, due to the traditional barriers to entry had forced them to go in search of employment in various sectors, whatsoever were the working conditions. History later is testimony to the fact that the community at large gained from the same, with the skills they learnt in due course, for due to a complex set of reasons their labour demand was on the upswing.

Moreover their growing presence in the coir and coir related sector mainly as labour and also in the cashewnut labour industry, found benefits percolating to them in the course of the inter war years, through the process of the trade union movements developing in and around Alleppey.[15] The burgeoning growth of trade with Europe and United States due to the reduction in transportation costs, coupled with Kerala finding a suitable place in the scheme of the colonialism inspired classical international division of labour, which witnessed the state resorting to the creation of a plantation economy, growth in the demand for coir and coir related products right from the last decades of the nineteenth century, the increase in the demand for

the cashew kernels in the world market in the course of the early decades of the twentieth century, the flourishing of occupations relating to the production and distribution of liquor and abkari —all resulted in a significant upswing in the fortunes of the community. The remittances back home from the members of the community, who had migrated to the Ceylon and Malay, fighting the caste injustices back home and also due to destitution, had also improved their relative position vis-a-vis that of the other communities.

Even when the custom of slavery was abolished in the whole of British India by the proclamation in lines of Article V of 1843, Travancore continued to have slavery as a system. The practice of slaves being bought and sold was rampant. It was through the agency of the missionaries that the same was fought. There were letters written to Sri Utram Thirunal Marthandavarma from LMS as well as CMS missionaries calling for at least the stoppage of the system of Sircar slaves, particularly drawing attention to the fact by virtue of Art. V already the same was illegal in the rest of the country. In fact, Resident Cullen was very skeptical about the consequences of enlightenment amidst the slaves, which he feared would spell doom for agriculture. Further with F N Matby, replacing Cullen as Resident and due to the continual pressures which the missionaries exerted on both the Resident, particularly in the wake of the resolution of the Madras Government with respect to the abolition of slavery in Travancore, the same was finally abolished in 1855. This magnified the suspicion. Which the casteist slave owners had earlier cherished of the missionaries as fixers, who could get things done due to their influence in the British regime in Madras. The abolition of slavery, in itself was resulting in the development of a wage labour related exchange of cash engendering payments to the agricultural labour, who were in any case subjected to arduous labour. Many missionaries like Samuel Mateer have portrayed poignantly the destitution, deprivation and harassment to which the Pariahs were subjected to. In fact many of the missionaries were moved by the settlements in which these castes used to live.[16]

The social attitudes to the depressed slave castes failed to change, they being at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Towards claiming access to public places was the very renowned *Villuvandi Yatra* which was undertaken by Ayyankali, Pulaya social reformer of Travancore, who founded the Sadhu Jana Paripalana Samiti. In fact, the first ever strike from the part of the agricultural labour in the state in 1907, was intended towards drawing attention to the negation of entry to a Pulaya girl in a school at Oruttarnbalam at Neyyatinkara taluk in Trivandrum.[17] The strike bore fruit, with government taking action in this regard". Though, in his capacity as a member of the Sri Mulam Praja Sabha, Sri Ayyankali could draw attention to the various issues

and problems confronted by his community, probably the numerically dispersed presence of the depressed castes, coupled by hardly any sort of growth of their economic endowments, further resulted in the fizzling out of the movement.

II

Consolidation, Politicisation and Class Differentiation in the Inter-war Years in Travancore

Though the economy has gained substantially from the links with the international economy in the last decades of the 19th century, the world economic depression resulted in the markets elsewhere being cut off and the prices of agricultural crops, particularly the cash crops came crashing down. The migration, which picked up momentum towards Malabar was in response to the same. The relative decline in the price of rice was lower compared to that of the cash crops. The fortunes made out of the extensive rubber cultivation undertaken, thanks to the boom in the automobile industry in United States, and the consequent demand in the first decade of the twentieth century benefited the farmers. Given that the number of farmers with small holdings was higher in Travancore, it could be concluded that even the middle level farmer benefited. But the inter war years found the price of rubber crashing down. Travancore had to wait till the Second World War, when Malay came under Japanese occupation, for the price to shoot up again. The volatile fluctuations in the prices of agricultural commodities were having its manifestation in the form of growing indebtedness and a larger tendency of land alienation[19]. Compared to the garden and plantation crops, the price of rice did not decline as much. The growing concerns of food security in Travancore increased with enormous difficulties in procuring rice from Burma.

But for their dominant presence in government employments, the conditions of Nairs would have gone from bad to worse. The internal feuds within the *marumakkattayam* system further resulted in the alienation of land from the hands of the Nair community. Marumakkatayam Acts were brought in the legislatures and passed. The Two Travancore Acts of 1912 and 1925 in sanctifying *sambandham* as a legal form of marriage addressed the moral and ideological dilemma confronted by the Nairs, educated in western schools. Demand for partition could not be denied outright. Moreover part of the acquired property of the father could be bequeathed to the wife and children through the execution of will. The marriage customs in the community were given a formal shape. The inability of the Nairs to take to tasks other than that of government service was working against their

interests. Internally too, due to the complex nature of organization of the *taravad*, there was large differentiation amidst them. In fact, early twentieth century, the only fraction with the Nair community who gained were the advocates who were making it rich through the litigations which were on the ascendancy. The community perceived a big threat from the militant mobilization of peasants and labour in the course of the inter war years.

The institutions of marriage and inheritance amongst the Syrian Christians were of such a nature that it facilitated the process of accumulation. The spirit of individualism, accumulation through thrift and the investrnent — enabled to the Syrian community coming of age. The significant increase in literacy in the community, the lack of aversion towards the various occupations made them distinct from the other communities. In fact the middle peasant amidst the Syrians were more prosperous as against the others, for they have no religious constraints on the rearing of cattle and poultry, which in the early stages of modernization of agriculture proved to be extremely remunerative. The response of the community to price signals from the international market was not an unmixed blessing. With prices of various crops crashing in the course of the twenties, to fend against hunger and starvation there was large scale migration, which occurred from the community to the Malabar region.[21]

The growing influence of the Syrian Christians through the abkari and PWD contracts, the command they had over trade and industry which flourished in Alleppey and Kottayam, their growing presence in teaching and health related activities got its political consolidation when, along with the Ezhavas and Muslims, they were a dominant section which formed the support base of the Nivartana Agitation in the state against the high tax requirements for suffrage. The economic fortunes of the Syrian Chrisitans were not looked high upon either by the Dewan. The leading entrepreneurs from the community, particularly in the banking and financial circles felt that injustice was perpetrated against them by the Dewan and his cronies. All these went into their rallying behind the Travancore State Congress against the American Model proposed by the Dewan.

Most of the petitions and pleas which were made by the organizations of the backward castes towards facilitating their entry into schools run by the government bore results only in the early decades of the twentieth century. Before the same, the Ezhavas and Nadars were largely dependent on the missionary schools or the special schools sanctioned for them. In any case, the large scale participation of Ezhavas in the traditional industrial sector in the state exposed them to new techniques of production. The vibrant trade unionism in the course of the inter war years also helped in consolidating

the gains in the form of wages. The victory in the Vaikom Satyagraha and the Temple Entry Proclamations were more than generous offerings from a benevolent administration, the net effect of the changing contours of the democratized polity in the state. Through the membership in the Sree Moolam Assembly, while members representing the community like Kumarasan articulated and fought for the genuine rights of the community SNDP Yogam. had made submissions to the Simon Commission on the conditions of their community and the lack of access to employment and education labour forcen. [22] From labour in various industrial and agricultural activities to wealthy traders like Alummuttu Channar , who had forays into various industrial in trading activities the peasant caste was witness to a large scale of difererentiation.

The Pulayas as well as the Ezhavas were beneficiaries of the trade union movement which emerged in the agricultural sector in the state. Rightly the *Thiruvitamkoor Karshaka Thozhilalai Union* was formed in 1939 at Kainakri, Kuttand, wherein the wage labour system in paddy cultivation was well-developed.[23] Earlier a mention was made of the first ever agricultural strike made in Travancore by Ayyankali.

III

Political and Social Movements in Malabar

The exploitative agrarian relations characterised by high rentier interests in the Malabar countryside in the four-tier structure, consisting of the *janmi, kanakkaran, verumpattakaran* and the agricultural labour, provided the basis of agrarian discontent and the movements that emerged. By 1940s, while in Travancore, the proportion of the land owned by the small landholding families was 20% (around 1.3 million people), in Cochin it was 100000 people(7%),whereas in Malabar such people were less than 5% of the total population. No doubt agrarian relations was a key issue in Malabar. From the Moplah outrage in the 1836 to the Malabar Rebellion in 1921,the origins of the same could be traced to the high rates of rent, which was extracted from the real peasant. Of all the districts in Madras Presidency, Malabar had the largest share of slaves way back into 1815.

As late as 1880s, as per Logan's *Malabar Manual*, the rate of assessment was 86% with respect to the wetlands and 63% with respect to gardenlands. The Report of the District Collector of Malabar, F B Evans in 1921, remarks that the extraction of rent was to the tune of 75% to 85% of the net produce, that the peasant was left with near to nothing on the basis of which he could survive. Consolidating the multitude of documents in this regard, Dr. K N Panikkar in his work on Malabar Peasant prising, remarks "rural

society in Malabar was in a state of perpetual ferment during the nineteenth and early twentieth century . The dacoities, revolts, thefts and banditry that occurred almost regularly were essentially an expression of the protest of the rural poor against oppression and exploitation".[24]

In fact the Congress Socialist Party and, in the later period, the Communist movement in Malabar played an important role in the mobilisation of peasants and workers. The Malabar Tenancy Reform Act 1939 tried to address the concerns of the *kanakkaran* than the real peasant. This is articulated in the note of Dissent to the Report on Malabar Tenancy Reform by EMS Nambudiripad. The state had to wait for the Agrarian Relations Bill of 1959 to actually address the problems confronted by the rack-rented peasantry.

The movements in Malabar were influenced by the developments in the national scene. More than in Travancore, from Khilafat to Civil Disobedience to Quit India Movement had an impact in Malabar. The brewing up of dissensions in the Congress with the ideological differences of the Congress Socialist Party emerging as a new group later had its impact on Malabar too. During a later stage, a fraction of the Congress Socialist Party formed part and parcel of the Communist Movement.

When P Krishna Pillai, EMS Nambudiripad, Damodaran and Sekhar formed the Communist Party cell in 1937, they strived with the long term plan of bringing the Congress Socialists into their fold. Organising and fighting for the rights of the bidi workers, umbrella makers, electrical workers and scavengers in Kannur, Thallasssery, and Calicut, they laid the foundations of a vibrant trade union movement in Malabar. Activists in Malabar embarked on a campaign for the right of lower castes to enter the Guruvayur temple in south Malabar. Marches and fasts lasted for over an year. *A jatha* was lead by A K Gopalan from Guruvayur to Trivandrum .As part of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Krishna Pillai lead a salt march from Calicut to North Malabar, culminating in a meeting of 20000 people, who were attacked by the police.[25]

Marxist literature was making inroads in Malabar through translations and small pamphlets on Marx, Trotsky and Lenin written in Malayalam. Jayaprakash Narayan's *Why Socialism* was also widely read. From the mid-thirties, vigorous teachers' unions spread new ideas and forms of protest. Malabar Aided Elementary Teachers' Union was formed in 1936. Poor and uncertain salaries and the arrogance of the management to dismiss teachers at will were major matters of concern. One of the most important entrants into the Communist Movement were the teachers, AKG being one of them.

The Great Depression in 1930s made matters more complicated for the

peasant in Malabar. The peasant discontent formed an important agenda for the consolidation of nationalist movement in Malabar. The Congress Socialist Party in the twenties and the Communist Movement in the thirties took the lead in mass conscientisation of peasants in Malabar. They took the lead in struggles against the practice of untouchability, provision of relief during epidemics, agitations towards clinching a public distribution system, and laid the foundations of a vibrant library movement. The Kerala Karshaka Sangham took the lead in demanding amendment of the Malabar Tenancy Act, and lead the labour campaign against the hoarding of grain by conducting hunger *jathas*. In fact, Malabar was cradle, which nurtured the foundations of the radical political movement in the state inspired by the ideology of Marxism. It was the political leadership, which was churned out in the North, which later initiated the movement in Travancore.[26]

Concluding Comments

The political and economic processes in Kerala in the course of its formation on linguistic lines has to be located in the diverse nature of movements in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. But an underlying unity lies in the fact, that though the movements were lead more by community organisations in the south and political organizations in Malabar, the objective of the both was to increase the availability and access of the public goods provided by the state to the common man. The Agrarian Relations Bill and the Education Reform Bill of the first state legislature were intended towards addressing these issues of concern. From a period, when the state used to be concerned more about the ostentatious and rentier interests of the higher sections, history is testimony to the state addressing the diverse and heterogenous concerns of the polity with multiple groups. In fact, A Sen's notion of social functionings can be traced in the different steps undertaken in Kerala, towards enhancing the capabilities of individuals. The Kerala model which boasts of high levels of performance on the social front was made possible because, even as the governments from time to time were mooting strategies to balance the heterogeneous coalition of mutually conflicting interests, the ideal of egalitarianism and mass consciousness relating to rights weighed high over all other concerns.

References

1 See Franke and Chasin(1992), Dreze and Sen(1989)

2 It should also be noted that economies like Sri Lanka, Costa Rica and others are also known for similar tendencies, though this pattern is widely known as Kerala model

3 Krishnamurty in his contribution to Kumar (1982) remarks, In 1911, for every one person in the developmental sector, one-half a person in general administration, corresponding proportion in Indian Union is 1:4 (p.544)

4 More details relating to the same and also the terms at which the European planters were given land, see Jeffrey (1976)

5 An exhaustive analysis into the nature of state foundation in Travancore is given in Ganesh (l990)

6 The sale of 8000 acres of land to Indians resulted in the government garnering around 2.25 lakhs in 1874.

7 See Blyn (1966), *Agricultural trends in India: 1891-1947:* Output, Availability and Productivity .. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

8 For the details relating to famines in colonial India, see Dreze's article in Dreze, Sen and Hossain (). The famines of 1896-97 and 1899-00 were preceded by overall decline in the aggregate production of foodgrains.

9 See Jeffrey(1976) for further details relating to the decline of Nayar dominance 10O Chandu Menon, in his novel Indulekha had highlighted the problems of this system drawing the attention through the character Shinnan. G Parameswaran Nair was yet another person who was an uncompromising opponent of social injustice.

11 See *Madras Times,* 10 July 1891

12 Of the signatures collected, half of them were tax payers. The ethical standpoint was that the access denied to in public educational institutions was all the more unwarranted, for the community was paying more tax compared to any other community.

13 In any case, the Memorandum drew attention to the fact that there were only five special schools for education for the Ezhavas who numbered around 5lakh in the state. Though the Memorial was given an assurance of jobs in departments other then Revenue, there was no response to applications submitted. In the case of the PWD, an Ezhava graduate was denied employment, the post being filled up by a Brahmin undergraduate 15 The burgeoning growth of trade with Europe and United States due

14 For a detailed and elaborate overview of the SNDP Yogam seethe detailed study by Chandramohan (1981)

15 For a detailed excursus into the trade union movement around the coir industry look up Isaac(l985)

16 See Mateer, Samuel(1884) in this regard.

17 For a detailed overview about this unsung hero of Kerala' s social transformation see Saradamoni (1980) and Joseph (1992)

18 Indeed a sony commentary of Travaueore then, that Swadeshahhimaui Ramakrishna Pillai, otherwise a progressive journalist, who incidentally authored the first ever biograpby in Malayalam on Karl Marx, bad come down heavily on the government move to permit the Pulayas to learn with the Nairs. He remarked "To put together those who have been cultivating their brains for generations with those who have been cultivating their fields is like putting a horse and buffalo in the same yoke", Swadeshabhimani, 5 Nov 1909.

19 The land alienation was all the more significant because the proportion of the population landless had risen to 23%, according to 1941 Census, nearly double that of the 1921 Census.

20 An inquiry in 1907 revealed enormous loss of land from the Nairs of Travancore. The growing land alienation was attributed to the ostentation and mismanagement of the taravad by the karanavar.

21 See Tharakan (1977) in this regard. He carefully dissects the economic rationale behind the migration to the North from 1930.

22 See Kunjuraman C V (1928) in this regard.

23 On the inextricable links between social reform movement and agricultural labour movement, see Kannan(1988)

24 See Panikkar, Against Lord and the State. Also for further explorations made with respect to the exploitation of the Malabar peasantry, see Karat (1973).

25 For further details with respect to nationalism and the communist movement in Malabar, see Jeffrey (1992)

26 For more on the political movements in Malabar see article by Ramachandran V K in Dreze and Sen

AIKYA KERALA MOVEMENT: A STUDY

Dr. B. Sobhanan

The land and people of Kerala once remained an integral part of the erstwhile Tamilakam which comprised the entire land south of the Vindhayas. The advent of the external forces including the Europeans led to far reaching changes in the socia-political, religious and cultural life of the people. The people of Kerala became the victims of a series of such invasions which were rather calculated to undermine their identity. But they succeeded to withstand the severe challenges. After centuries of trials and tribulations they were rather determined to attain the unification of Malayalees. The formation of modern Kerala is the outcome of a series of socio-political, cultural, linguistic and administrative factors. It is the fulfillment of long processes of historical evolution which became the need of the day. A number of agencies and individuals contributed for the realisation of the historical mission. It represented the cultural, political, administrative, emotional and linguistic unification of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. It was rather a spontaneous and natural manifestation of peoples' will to associate themselves in the name of their mother tongue, Malayalam and a common culture.

The demand for the formation of a United Kerala comprising the Malayalam speaking areas of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar got momentum due to the reciprocal interaction of the then all India political forces and the

local ethnic, linguistic and cultural sentiments of the people. In essence, national and regional forces acted each other in the process of the development of linguistic nationalism in Kerala. The land of Kerala, from very ancient times was geographically, linguistically, ethnically and culturally a single cohesive unit, and continued to be so for several centuries when the vicissitudes of history fragmented the land into petty principalities. Even when distinct political entities like Travancore, Cochin and Malabar emerged later with well demarcated boundaries and well defined royal authorities, the Malayalam speaking people of these areas, throughout the course of history, maintained a common cultural identity and linguistic solidarity. The rise of a newly educated middle class or intelligentsia, growth of literature and press, rise of new political parties and resistance movements in these states further strengthened the bond of unity and solidarity among all Malayalees. The concerted attempts from enlightened quarters in the first half of the 20th century for a Pan-Kerala University also accelerated the pace of solidarity among the Malayalees. However, it was the agitations carried on in different states and provinces of India during the first half of the 20th century for the reorganization of states on the basis of language, which prompted the Malayalees to move to the path of agitation for a United Kerala State. However, the Tamilians of Travancore, who constituted a minority in the state, were greatly frustrated and they vehemently opposed and stood against the Malayalam United Kerala. They apprehended that if the proposed United Kerala idea got materialized they would be reduced to a very inferior position. They feared that their existence under a Malayali dominated Kerala would be quite miserable and that they would be a linguistic minority in the vast territory of Malayalam United Kerala.[2] The Tamilians of Travancore then formed the Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress (T.T.N.C.) and started a fight for the merger of the Tamil areas of Travancore with 'Thai-Thamizhakam'or Tamil Nadu.[3]

Considering the composite nature of Indian culture and nationalism, in the beginning the Indian National Congress accepted Language as a basic factor in the formation of states. The Calcutta session in 1917 and Nagpur session in 1937 passed resolutions recommending promotion of national unity by such means as the establishment of a *lingua franca*,[4] a common language. The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee was constituted in 1921 long before the formation of modern Kerala with the representative of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. It is the manifestation of the common identity which existed among the people of Kerala. The mass media especially the newspapers played a decisive role in strengthening the feeling of oneness among the Malayalees. In 1923, K.P.Kesava Menon in his editorial in the

first issue of *Mathrubhumi* wrote about Aikya Keralam "Although the people of Kerala, speaking a common language, united by a common history, common traditions and common customs are now under four separate government, it is essential for the common good and progress and prosperity of Malayalees that the people living in the diverse parts of Kerala should live in close harmony and unity than at present. *The Mathrubhumi* will work ceaselessly for the attainment of this purpose".[5] Similarly all other vernacular newspapers in Malayalam sincerely tried to achieve the linguistic unification of Kerala. The press in Kerala worked ceaselessly for the propagation of the idea of 'Aikya Kerala'.[6] Thereafter a number of meetings were held in different parts of Kerala and a series of resolutions were passed in the sessions of the Indian National Congress to have a common state for the Malayalees.

The idea of United Kerala strengthened and consolidated itself in different forms with the march of time. In the words of George Wood Cock, "the various abortive attempts to form All Kerala Committees of Congress, the creation of a Kerala Communist Party and the series of All Kerala Trade Union Congresses which began in 1935, were all symptoms of a general desire to see the Malayalees re-united within a single political state".[7] On 24 February 1935, the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee appointed a sub-committee to investigate the question of the formation of a Kerala state.[8] At the Youth Conference, held under the auspices of the Eleventh All Kerala Conference of the Nair Service Society (N.S.S) at Pandalam on 1 May 1941, Panampilli Govinda Menon, leader of the Cochin Rajya Praja MandaI, expressed the view that Travancore, Cochin and Malabar should have a common law, a common legislature and common High Court and that the Travancore University must be made an All Kerala University.[9] Thus from the early decades of the 20th century, public opinion in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar had been in favour of the formation of a United Kerala.

The movement for the formation of a Kerala state gathered momentum in the 1940' s when the prospects of Indian Independence looked bright. Towards the end of the year 1945, leaders of the Malabar Provincial Congress, Cochin Rajya Praja MandaI and Travancore State Congress - political parties of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore respectively - resolved to work towards the formation of a United Kerala. In Travancore, the State Congress gave much propaganda to this idea and innumerable meetings were organized in the state to enlist members and enlighten the public regarding the United Kerala issue. In 1946, the demand for the formation of a linguistic province of Kerala gathered fresh momentum thanks to the developments in Cochin politics. On 29 July 1946, Sri Kerala Varma, the then Maharaja of Cochin announced, in the Cochin Legislative Council, his cherished desire "to work

towards merging Cochin in a United Kerala province".[10] This was hailed by all as an "inspiring lead" and political parties like the Kerala Pradesh Congress, the Cochin Rajya Praja Mandal and the Travancore State Congress pledged to work towards the early realization of the objective set before them by the Cochin Maharaja.[11] In order to mobilize public support, propaganda meetings and conferences were held in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The idea also had the strong support of the press apart from political parties and socio-cultural organizations. The Kerala Provincial Congress, after taking the opinion of other political parties and organizations, now constituted a sub-committee known as the United Kerala Committee. This Committee as E.M.S.Namboodiripad writes, "became the rallying centre of a large number of democratic organizations and groups. Never before in the history of Kerala had the slogan of United Kerala assumed such wide mass support. It seemed as if every body was for United Kerala".[12]

As a part of the hidden agenda the British Government tried to retain the separate identity of the princely states and thereby manage through a policy of divide and rule. The Cripps Mission proposed to establish a union of India on the basis of the voluntary accession of the states to the Indian union. The native rulers then decided to stay out of the Indian union and constitute separate non-acceding provinces. The Cabinet Mission made it clear that the Indian states were not forced to join the Indian Union and it would not transfer paramount power to an Indian government. The Mount Batten Plan made it clear that British Government is prepared to part with the power over the Indian States which would be free to join with any of the Dominions-India or Pakistan. The Indian Independence Act gave a free hand to the States in joining with any of the two Dominions. The challenges put forward by the British rather emboldened the princely states to be more cautious about their hidden ambitions.

The Congress Election Manifesto of 1945 sounded a departure from its avowed political objective. While repeating the past assurances, the manifesto declared that the administrative units should be continued as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis. The principle of linguistic provinces produced more conflict and trouble than any kind of peaceful solution to the problem.[13] On 17 June 1948 a Linguistic Provinces Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Justice S.K.Dhar and Jagath Narayan Lal and Panna Lal as members. As the Dhar Commission report didn't encourage formation of states exclusively on linguistic consideration, the Indian National Congress constituted a three member committee popularly known as JVP Committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehra, Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramaiah to examine the findings of the Dhar Commission.

The JVP committee remarked that language was not only a binding force but also a separating one. They reported against the linguistic principle.

The United Kerala Committee met at Cheruthuruthi late in 1946 under the presidentship of K.P.Kesava Menon decided to convene a United Kerala Conference at an early date.[14] After many preparations, the United Kerala Convention was held at Trichur, on 26 and 27, April 1947 under the chairmanship of K. Kelappan, president of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee.[15] The Convention was inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin[16] who also agreed to serve as the patron of the United Kerala Movement.[17] This Convention was attended by hundreds of delegates from all parts of Kerala and was more representative in character than any other conference held in Kerala till then.[18] T.M. Varghese of the State Congress moved the United Kerala Resolution and it was accepted. The resolution ran as follows: "This Convention of the people's representatives of Kerala proclaim that Indian states such as Travancore and Cochin and the British Indian areas including Mahe should be considered as integral parts of Kerala on geographical, cultural, linguistic and economic basis and should form a separate self- governing unit under the Indian Union. The administrative power of this unit should be vested in the hands of the people".[19] K. Kelappan, in his presidential address mentioned: "we do not want United Kerala on the basis of language only. Considering the under-lying unity from ancient days of history with the geographical continuity from Kazargod to Cape Comorin and for its future economic progress, United Kerala should consist of the areas from Kazargod to Cape Comorin."[20] The Convention also constituted a Committee to co-opt more members and to organize the people for the formation of United Kerala, with power to elect a working committee of fifteen members.[21] In February 1949, a similar United Kerala Convention was held at Alwaye and in November 1949, another at Palghat to press for the formation of a Kerala state.[22]

The United Kerala Movement also received the wide support of the Malayalees who had lived in various parts of India. On January 4,1947, K.P.S.Menon started a news-paper at Royapettah, Madras called *Jaya Keralam*. Releasing its first issue, he spoke, "We accept division of states on linguistic basis. Soviet Russia has proved this. *Jaya Keralam* will work for the formation of a United Kerala with Kazargod in the north and Cape Comorin in the south with Malayalam as its official language".[23] Also on 15th and 16th of March 1947, the Malayalees of Bombay held an All India Convention in Bombay presided over by N. Sreekantan Nair, a prominent socialist leader of Travancore. This Convention passed a resolution expressing its desire to see the formation of a Kerala state.[24] In this Convention, the Socialist Party

promised to extend its full support to the United Kerala Movement.[25] Speaking in the Convention, Jayaprakash Narayanan has even exhorted the Malayalees to launch a popular rebellion to end princely rule and for the formation of a United Kerala.[26] The Communist Party also extended its support to the United Kerala Movement.

The progressive measures initiated by the rulers of Cochin were appreciated and complimented by many. Gandhiji and Nehru praised the Cochin rulers for their statesmanship.[27] Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the following message that "I wish to convey my greetings and congratulations on the declaration that you made recently about responsible government and other matters connected with your state. It was a brave declaration which I am sure, will be a lead for many of the states. I notice that it has been criticized by some people. That criticism is of no account and represents only the lack of foresight in them. I hope you will implement your declaration as soon as possible so that you and your people can march together co-operatively to freedom". [28]

The Government of Cochin continued to reiterate their ardent belief that the future welfare of the state and of India as a whole would be best assured by the association of the state in an all India polity. The State therefore approached the question of Indian federation with every will to overcome difficulties which naturally arise in the accomplishment of this great project.[29] Cochin acceded to and became part of the Indian union. The Maharaja of Cochin himself stated "in my view it is essential for the strength and prosperity of India that all units of Indian federation should as far as possible have uniform system of administration".[30]

When the British decided to quit India the accession of the Indian States to the Indian Union became a complex problem. For the realisation of the same, a States' Ministry with Sardar Patel as its head was set up in July 1947.[31] The Ministry adopted an "Instrument of Accession", by which the native rulers surrendered defence, foreign affairs and communications of their respective states to the Indian Union. V.P.Menon, the Secretary of State to the Government of India held discussions with the Prime Ministers of Cochin and Travancore. E.Ikkanda Warrier, the Prime Minister of Cochin accepted the Instrument of Accession in principle. Before taking a final decision they had consulted the members of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assemblies of Cochin and Travancore. They had endorsed the views of their respective premiers. On 1st April 1949, a deputation consisting of the Ministers of the two states and representatives of the local Congress organisation met Sardar Patel at New Delhi and appraised him of their desire to integrate the two states into one union.[32] On 2nd April 1949 The Government of India issued a press 'Communique' accepting the proposal.[33]

A reorganisation committee was constituted which consisted of V.O.Markose, a Minister of Travancore, Panampilly Govinda Menon, a minister of Cochin as members, M.M.Thomas as secretary and N.M.Buch, the Joint Secretary to the Government of India as President. The Committee was authorised to examine and report the various problems connected with the integration of the two States.[34]

K.Kelappan, the President of the Aikya Kerala Committee expressed his dissatisfaction over the integration of Travancore and Cochin which would underline the proposed unification of Kerala.[35] But the Aikya Kerala Committee passed a resolution recommending that Travancore and Cochin should be integrated. The anti-integrationists in Cochin led by C.V.Iyyu, Kunjirama Menon and others formed a party called Cochin Party in 1949. To them Cochin was only 1/5 of the size of Travancore and the Travancoreans would have an upper hand in the affairs of the new State. They always remained vigilant and alert about their due share. They insisted that High Court of Kerala should be at Ernakulam itself. Integration should not be a political suicide of "their like Cochin". [36]

The Maharaja of Travancore insisted that he should be Rajapramukh for life and the title should be 'Perumal'. The Maha Raja of Cochin Rama Varma Parikshit Thampuran who was well advanced in age and experience readily agreed to the proposal that the Raja of Travancore should be made Rajapramukh for life. He didn't put forward any conditions but wanted free copies of the *Panjangam* or Almanac published by the Government of Cochin. Praising this spirit of full and ready co-operation C.Rajagopalachari, the Governor General of India in his message, expressed his deep gratitude and appreciation of the prompt and generous manner in which the people and the rulers of Cochin State have helped to achieve this union and integration involving a degree of self effacement. The Raja of Cochin agreed for a privy purse of Rs. 2,35,000/- per annum while the Raja of Travancore received 18 lakhs.[37]

The integration of Travancore and Cochin became a reality on 1 July 1949. The Rajapramukh appointed a new council of ministers which consisted of T.K. Narayana Pillai as Premier and six ministers, three each i.e A.J. John, E.K.Madhavan and T.A.Abdulla, E.Ikkanda Warrier, K.Ayyappan and Panampilly Govinda Menon respectively from Travancore and Cochin. Thus monarchy yielded place to democracy. The integration of Travancore and Cochin was inaugurated by Vapal Panjumni Menon on 1st July 1949 with an area of 9,155 square miles, a population of 75 lakhs and a revenue of nearly 13.5 crores is the smallest one, but with great potentialities.[38] The members of the Representative Body of Travancore and Legislative Assembly of Cochin

constituted the Legislative Assembly of the new State.[39] Thereafter the processes of integration gathered further momentum. With a strong spirit of determination and commitment the Malayalees from Travancore-Cochin and Malabar tried hard to the ultimate realisation of the Aikya Kerala. The hurdles and vicissitudes in the processes delayed the birth of modern Kerala till 1st November 1956.

Meanwhile, the Committee of the All India Linguistic States Conference, which met at Bombay on 19 October 1952, urged peaceful mass action throughout the country to secure the formation of linguistic states at the earliest.[40] As a result of these developments, the Indian National Congress relented much from its old stand. At the Hyderabad session of the Congress in January 1953, the Congress recognized the linguistic principle along with other relevant factors.[41] Not only the Indian National Congress, but the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Kissan Mazdoor Praja Party, the Hindu Maha Sabha, etc ., also advocated the early settlement of the linguistic issue.[42] It can safely be adduced from the fore-going paragraphs that when agitations of different dimensions were going on in almost all parts of India for linguistic states, the Malayalam speaking people of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar also clamoured for a United Kerala State. It was under these pressing circumstances that the Government of India appointed the States Reorganization Commission on 29 December 1953 which finally settled the linguistic states issue.

The merger of Cochin State with Travancore was a step precedent to the creation of a United Kerala. Taking part in the first budget speech of the United State of Travancore- Cochin, K. Kochukuttan, the Deputy Speaker, openly declared that the integration of Travancore and Cochin states was the first step towards the formation of a Kerala State.[43] He said: "In the future, a United Kerala will be formed; the will and wish of all the Malayalees will soon be fulfilled".[44] However, according to George Wood Cock, "This step towards eventual unity far from stimulating support for the United Kerala Movement, seemed to have satisfied many of the southern Malayalees, who were having second thoughts about union with Malabar, and the United Kerala Committee was dissolved."[45] Soon after the formation of the first Parliament of Independent India in 1952 the agitation for linguistic states was revived, mainly through the passionate campaign of the Telugus in the Andhra region.

The all India situation favoured the formation of linguistic states when, the demand for a separate Andhra province took a serious turn in Andhra. Potti Sri Ramulu began fasting unto death over the question of the immediate formation of Andhra province.[46] After a prolonged fast of fifty eight days he

became a martyr on 15 December 1952, to the linguistic cause.[47] The whole atmosphere in Andhra was surcharged with excitement and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, made an announcement in Parliament on 19 December 1952, that he would take all the steps necessary for the speedy formation of an Andhra State.[48] On 28 April 1953, he gave another assurance that a Commission on linguistic states would be appointed after the formation of the Andhra state.[49] The Parliament in the meantime, passed the Andhra State Bill. Thus the Andhra State, the first linguistic state in India, came in to being on 1 October 1953.[50] According to Chandulal Trivedi, the then Governor of Andhra, the formation of the new linguistic state of Andhra was a great landmark in the whole history of India.[51] Dr.Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who played a prominent role in the movement for the formation of Andhra almost from its very inception remarked; "the success of the new state would expedite the process of re-organization of other states as well on linguistic basis".[52]

Following the success of the Andhra Movement considering the all India situation, the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, on 22 December 1953, made a historic announcement in the Parliament that a Commission would be appointed to enquire into and report on the re-organization of states in India.[53] It was followed by the appointment of the said Commission on 29 December 1953.[54] Syed Fazl Ali was the chairman of the Commission and the two other members were H.N .Kunzru and Sardar K.M.Panikkar.[55] The plenary session of the Indian National Congress which met in Kalyani on 23 January 1954, passed an official resolution welcoming and giving approval to the appointment of the States Re-organization Commission.[56] The Commission, while investigating the problem-the historical background, the then existing situation and the bearing of all important and relevant factors there on-was given wide powers, either to suggest division of a particular state or amalgamation of two or more states, as it thought proper.[57] The Commission was asked to submit its recommendations to the government not later than 30 June 1955.[58] The Commission that held its meetings on 12 February 1954[59] and 23 February 1954, issued a press note inviting written memoranda from members of the public as well as private associations interested in the problem of the re-organization of states.[60] The Commission in the course of the all India tour visited the Travancore-Cochin state.[61] On the basis of the Report of the States Re-organization Commission, the Parliament passed the States Re-organization Act of 1956(Central Act 37 of 1956) in order to settle the linguistic problem.

The Commission reported in favour of a United Kerala State comprising all the Malayalee dominated areas. The main addition to the new state of Kerala, as envisaged by the States Re-organization Commission was the

geographically contiguous district of Malabar. But Malabar, which was a part of the Madras state till 31 October 1956, was not so much industrially advanced as her neighbour, Coimbatore district[62] or Travancore-Cochin state.[63] So the addition of Malabar to this state, it was felt by all, would jeopardize the existing standard of development of Travancore-Cochin state.[64] But taking into account the cultural and linguistic affinity and geographical contiguity, Malabar was added to Kerala. The Laccadive Islands already formed part of the Malabar district which was ceded to the proposed Kerala State.[65] The Kazargod Taluk of South Kanara also formed a geographically contiguous area in which Malayalam language was largely spoken. For administrative convenience, the whole taluk was joined with Kerala. But the Commission recommended the separation of the four southern taluks of South Travancore-Thovala, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode-and a part of Shencotta taluk of the Quilon district to merge them with Tamilnadu. It was a fatal blow to the vital interests of the Kerala State. However, accepting the linguistic principle as the sole criterion for territorial readjustments and taking into consideration the tempo of agitations going on here for separation, the Commission had no other alternative.

The new state of Kerala, envisaged by the Commission, thus consisted of the erstwhile state of Travancore-Cochin less the five Tamil taluks of Thovala, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Shencotta plus Malabar district, the Kazargod taluk of South Kanara district and the Laccadive Islands. The state thus constituted had an area of about 14,980 square miles, which is linguistically homogeneous and geographically compact.[66]

The report of the States Re-organization Commission was accepted by the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and finally received the assent of the President on 31 August 1956. By virtue of the provisions of the States Re-organization Act, 1956 (Central Act 37 of 1956), the new state of Kerala was inaugurated on 1 November 1956. The office of the Rajpramukh was abolished and on 1 November 1956 itself, P.S.Rao assumed office as Acting Governor of Kerala.[67]

The formation of the Kerala state became a reality thanks to the various under-currents and agitations going on here for several decades. In short, it was the realization of the dreams and aspirations of all the Malayalees. As a part of the linguistic states movement which was gathering momentum all over India, the Malayalees in general nurtured the hope of a future United Kerala in the southern part of the country. They thought that the formation of a United Kerala comprising of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar-was highly essential for the all-round development of the Malayalees.

The formation of modem Kerala was the outcome of a series of socio-political, cultural, linguistic, ethnic, geographical and administrative factors.

It was rather a spontaneous and natural manifestation of people's will to associate themselves in the name of their mother-tongue, Malayalam and common culture. Among the different factors and agencies that worked behind this, the political parties played an important role in the genesis and growth of the unification process of Kerala. Considering the composite nature of Indian culture and nationalism, the Indian National Congress accepted language as a basic factor in the formation of states. Following the all India pattern, the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee was constituted as early as 1921 with the representatives of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The All Kerala Congress meetings convened under the auspices of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee accelerated the process of political unification of Kerala. The Communist Party also contributed for the propagation of the slogan of "United Kerala".[68] The concept of United Kerala was promoted, nurtured and propagated by the national minded poets and great writers of the period. The mass media, especially the newspapers played a decisive role in strengthening the feeling of oneness among the Malayalees.

An analysis of the nature and scope of the formation of modem Kerala State reveals that it was not merely a linguistic agitation as was going on in many parts of India at that time. On the contrary, it represented the culmination of the social, political, cultural, and even psychological factors. As a result of the various reform movements in and the spread of education, the people became increasingly conscious of their rights and they aspired for a better social setup. In Kerala, when the United Kerala Movement was launched, all Malayalees irrespective of caste, community, social status, political ideologies and regional variations, forgot their old differences and came together. The United Kerala Movement was a mass movement, the success of which therefore became inevitable. Culturally, the Malayalees hold that they possessed a distinct trait, tradition and culture and they were bound to protect them. It was this realization that led to the formation of modern Kerala.

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39 A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala and Freedom Struggle*, Kottayam. 1977. p.120.

40 *The Hindu*, October 21, 1952

41 *Ibid.*, May 17, 1953.

42 *Report of the States Re-organization Commission*, 1955,9.18.

43 *Ibid.*,Vo, No.3, p.107.

44 Ibid

45 George Wood Cock, *op.cit.*,p.256.

46 G.O.No.722, dated 15-5-1954, Government of Madras, Public Department, Tamil Nadu Archives.

47 *The Hindu*, October 1, 1953.

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid.*, April 29, 1953.

50 *Ibid.*, October I, 1953, Andhra State Supplement.

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Ibid.*

53 *Report of The States Re-organization Commission*, 1955, p.1.

54 File No.D.Dis.412, 1954, C.S., dated 16-1-1954, Resolution .No.53/69/53-Public, Government ofIndia, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi 2, December 29, 1953, E.R., KG.S.T.

55 Ibid.

56 *The Hindu*, January 25, 1954

57 *Ibid.*

58 File No. D.Dis.412, 1954, C.S., dated 16-1-1954, Resolution NO.53/69/53" Public, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New-Delhi-2, December29, 1953, E.R., KG.S.T.

59 *The Hindu*, February 13, 1954.

60 *Ibid.*, February 24, 1954.

61 File No.D.Dis.7724, 1954, C.S., dated 18-4-1956, E.R., K.G.S.T.

62 File No.D.Dis.33340, 1956, C.S., dated 11-4-1957, E.R.,KG.S.T Travancore-Cochin Goveminent, dated 25-5-1954, Directorate of State Archives, Trivandrum.

64 *Proceedings of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly*, Second Assembly1954, Official Report, Vo1.XI, Supplement, Part I, p.2132.

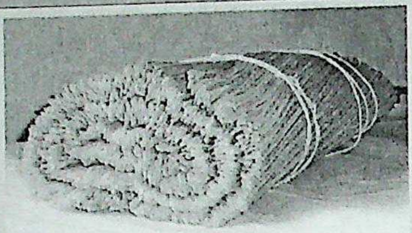
65 *Report of the States Re-organization Commission*, 1955, p.86.

66 *Ibid.*

67 File No.D.Dis.34801, C.S.,dated 18-2-1958, E.R.,KG.S.T

68 S.Raiman,(ed.), *The History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Vol. III (1938- '1948) State Archives Department, Government of Kerala, 2006, p.266.

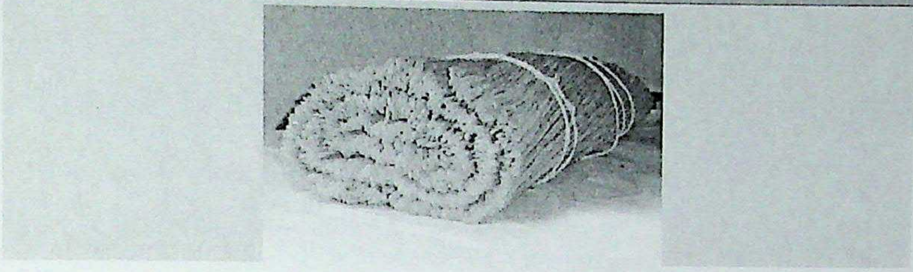
Selected Documents



Kerala State Archives, the Prime Custodian of the Documentary Heritage of Kerala, houses records dating back to the 15th century at its repositories in Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulam and Kozhikode. Kerala State Archives holds cadjan records, the largest collection of its kind in the world. This Archives also posses records in bamboo splints, copper plates and paper forms. Electronic records have also started finding place in our repositories. All these records are the products of perseverance, struggles and intellectual celebacy of the people of the Kerala down the ages. No attempt to study the history of Kerala will be fruitful unless these primary sources are put to use.

An earnest attempt is made in the following pages to present some of the selected documents in our costody to provide room for a critical review of our rich and varied Heritage.

Document No.1



വിഴിഞ്ഞത്തു കപ്പൽ വന്നു വെടിവച്ചുപോയതുകൊണ്ട് കോട്ടപ്പടി മുതലായ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കാവൽക്കാരെ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയതു സംബന്ധിച്ച്

ചുരുണ: 69; ഓല: 18; നീട്ടുവാല്യം:101; പുറം: 115; കൊ.വ. 984 കുംഭം 9

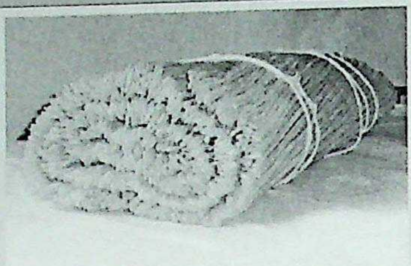
984–ാമാണ്ട് കുംഭമാസം 9–ാംനു നെടുംകൊട്ട മുതൽ കൊട്ടപ്പടിയിലും അതല്ലാതുള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും കാവലിനു ആളാക്കി സൂക്ഷിക്കെണ്ടും പ്രകാരത്തിനു എഴുതി അയച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെല്ലോ. 8–ാംനു മൂന്നു നാഴിക പകൽ ഉള്ളപ്പോൾ ഒരു കപ്പൽ വിഴിഞ്ഞത്തു കൊടിക്കു ചെവ്വെ ഓടി വന്നു വെടിയും വെച്ചു തിരിയെ മൊഗാർവിലെക്കു ഓടിപൊയിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു കൊട്ടപടികളിലും അതല്ലാതെ ഒള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും കാവലായിട്ടു പാർക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾ ഒക്കെയും സൂഷമായിരിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം ചട്ടവും കെട്ടി അവർക്കു വിലയരി തവചം മുതലായവക്കു മുട്ടുകൂടാതെ വരുത്തി കൊടുപ്പിച്ചു കൊള്ളണം. വിശെഷിച്ചു ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒണ്ടെന്നു വരികിൽ ആയവസ്ഥക്കു ഉടൻ തന്നെ എഴുതി വരികയും വെണം.

ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി മാതെവൻ ചെമ്പകരാമനു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിടൂ എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ട്.

തുല്യം

A Neettu (Royal order) issued by Balarama Varma Avittom Thirunal Maharaja of Travancore for providing necessary security arrangements to the subjects against the firing from ships at Vizhinjam (Cadjan Manuscript 69,leaf 18, Volume 101, page 115, M.E. 984 Kumbham 9).

Document No.2



വേലുത്തമ്പിയെ പിടിക്കാൻ കമ്പനിപട്ടാളം തിരുവനന്തപുരത്ത് കോട്ട വളഞ്ഞത്

ചുരുണ: 69; ഓല: 58; നീട്ടുവാല്യം: 101. പുറം: 183; കൊ.വ. 984 കുംഭം 21

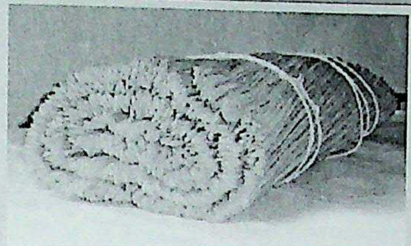
വെലുത്തമ്പി മുതൽ പെരു ഒളിച്ചുപൊയ ഹെതുവാൽ നമുക്കും രാജ്യത്തെക്കും ഏറിയ ദൊഷങ്ങളായിട്ടു വന്നു തീർന്നിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ഇപ്പൊൾ കൊംപഞ്ഞിപ്പാളയം തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു കൊട്ടക്കു നാലുവശവും കൊണ്ടുവന്നിറക്കി കർണ്ണൽ മക്കാളി പൂന്തുറയെയും വന്നു പാർത്തു നമ്മുടെ നെർക്കു ഏറിയ ഞെരുക്കങ്ങളായിട്ടു ഒക്കയും തുടങ്ങത്തക്കവണ്ണം ശ്രമിച്ചു വരികകൊണ്ടും വെലുത്തമ്പി മുതൽ പെരെ ഏതു ദിക്കിൽ ചെന്നിട്ടെങ്കിലും പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു വരത്തക്കവണ്ണം അയിട്ടൻ ജനറാൾ കൃഷ്ണൻ ചെമ്പകരാമൻപിള്ളയും മെലെഴുത്തു പെരുമാൾപിള്ളയും ഏതാനും കുന്തക്കാറരെയും പറഞ്ഞയക്കുന്നു. അവരവിടെ വന്നാൽ ഏതാനും ആളുകളെയും കൂടെ ശെഖരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു നീ കൂടെ ചെന്നു ഏറ്റുമാനൂർ മുഖത്തു ചെർന്ന കരപ്പിറം, കടപ്പിറം, കുട്ടനാടു മലംപ്രദേശം ഈ ദിക്കുകളിൽ ഒക്കയും നല്ലപൊലെ ശൊധന ചെയ്തു വെലുതമ്പിയും ചെമ്പകരാമൻ തമ്പിയും പത്മനാഭപിള്ളയും കുതിരപക്ഷിയും ആവരണംപിള്ളയും സാധനം കൊച്ചുശങ്കരപ്പിള്ളയും പിടിച്ചു കൈയ്ക്കു വിലങ്ങും ഇട്ടു 22-ാംനു വല്ല നെരവും ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നു പാർപ്പിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം കാവലിനു വെണ്ടുന്ന ആളുകളെയും കൂട്ടി അയച്ചു ആയ വസ്ഥക്കു എഴുതി വരികയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി മെലെഴുത്തു കണക്കു ചെമ്പകരാമൻ മാതെവനു നീട്ടു എഴുതിവിടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം

A Neettu (Royal order) issued by Balarama Varma Avittam Thirunal, Maharaja of Travancore instructing the officials to take necessary steps to arrest Dewan Velu Thampi and his followers who became hostile to the company officials.

(Churuna No.69. Leaf No.58; Volume 101, page 183, M.E. 984 Kumbam 21)

Document No.3



984-ാമാണ്ടു

കുംഭമാസം 21-ാം തീയതി

നീട്ടുപെർപ്പു

വെലുത്തമ്പി മുതൽ പെരെ വരുത്തി കൊമ്പഞ്ഞി ആളുകളെ ഏൽപ്പിച്ചില്ലെന്നും വച്ചു തിരുവനന്തപുരം കൊട്ടയ്ക്കു നാലുവശത്തും കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിപ്പാളയവും കൊണ്ടു വന്നു ഇറക്കി കർണ്ണൽ മക്കാളി പൂന്തുറയും പാർത്തു നമ്മടെ നെരെ ഏറിയഞെരുക്കങ്ങളായിട്ടു ഒക്കയും തുടങ്ങിയിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ഏതുദിക്കിൽ ചെന്നിട്ടു എംകിലും അന്വെഷിച്ചു വെലുത്തമ്പി മുതൽപെരെ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു വരുന്നതിനായിട്ടു അയിട്ടൻ ജനറാൾ കൃഷ്ണൻചെമ്പകരാമൻപിള്ളയും മെലെഴുത്തു പെരുമാൾപിള്ളയും കുന്തക്കാററിൽ ഏതാനും പെരയും കൂടെ പറഞ്ഞയക്കുന്നു. സാധനം കണ്ടുകൂടുമ്പോൾത്തന്നെ ഏതാനും ആളുകളെയും ശെഖരിച്ചും കൊണ്ടു നീകൂടെച്ചെന്നു പടിഞ്ഞാറെ മുഖത്തു ചെർന്ന കരപ്രം കുട്ടനാടുമലംപ്രദേശം ഈ ദിക്കുകളിൽ ഒക്കയും നല്ലപൊലെ ശൊധനചെയ്യിച്ചിട്ടും നെടുംകൊട്ടക്കു വെളിയിൽ മുന്നൻചീറെ മുതൽ വടക്കൊട്ടു ചെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചിട്ടും വെലുത്തമ്പിയും ചെമ്പകരാമൻതമ്പിയും പത്മനാഭപിള്ളയും കൊച്ചുശംകരപിള്ളയും ആവരണം പിള്ളയും കുതിരപക്ഷിയും ഇവരു ഇത്രപെരെയും ഇതല്ലാതെ എടപ്പള്ളിയിൽ ഗൊവിന്ദൻ ഉണ്ണിയെയും അമ്പലപ്പുഴ മണ്ടപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽ കാര്യം വിചാരിക്കുന്ന അയ്യപ്പൻ ചെമ്പകരാമൻപിളളയും വരുത്തി 22 തീയതി വല്ലനെരവും ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നു ഏൾപിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം കാവലിനു വെണ്ടുന്ന ആളുകളെയും കൂട്ടി എത്രയും വെഗത്തിൽ അയക്കയും വെണം. ഇനി ഇതിനു താമസം വന്നാൽ കൊമ്പഞ്ഞിപാളയം നാം ഇരിക്കുന്നിടത്തു വന്നു ഏറിയ ദൊഷങ്ങളായിട്ടു ചെയ്‌വാൻ ഇട (പൊടിവു) കൊണ്ടു ആയതു വരാതെ നീ വിചാരിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും ചെയ്യുമല്ലൊ എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി മാതെവൻ ചെമ്പകരാമനു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം

റിക്കാർഡ് നം. 1

വേലുത്തമ്പി മുതൽ പേരെ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതിനായി അയിട്ടൻ ജനറൽ കൃഷ്ണൻ ചെമ്പകരാമൻപിള്ളയെയും മേലെഴുത്ത് പെരുമാൾപിള്ളയെയും കുന്തക്കാററിൽ ഏതാനും പേരെയും പറഞ്ഞയക്കുന്നത് സംബന്ധിച്ച് ചെമ്പകരാമൻ എഴുതി വിട്ട നീട്ട്

Document No.4



വ്യാജമായി ആധാരങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ പണ്ടാരവകയിൽനിന്നും അച്ചടി ഓല വാങ്ങി എഴുതാൻ ചട്ടംകെട്ടുന്നതു

ചുരുണ: 10, ഓല: 542; കൊല്ലവർഷം 994 ആനിമാസം 12

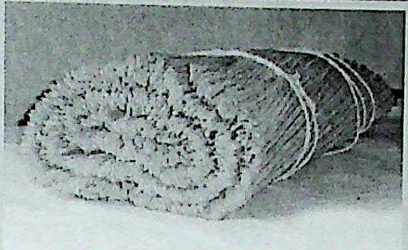
ഈ രാജ്യത്തുള്ള കുടിയാനവന്മാരു നിലവും പുരയിടവും ഉൾപ്പെട്ട വകകൾ എഴുതി വാങ്ങിക്കയും വിക്കയും ചെയ്തുവരുന്നതിൽ വ്യാജമായിട്ടു ആധാരങ്ങൾ ഒണ്ടാക്കാതെ ഇരിക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിനു പണ്ടാരവകയിൽനിന്നും അച്ചടിഓല വാങ്ങിച്ചു എഴുതിക്കൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം ചട്ടംവച്ചു ആ വകക്കു തീർപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അച്ചുകൾക്കു അഞ്ചരപ്പണം ചിലവുള്ള കണക്കിൽ ചിലവെഴുതെണ്ടുന്നതിനു നിദാനം വരെണമെന്നും ഹജൂർക്കൊർട്ടുകാററിടെ സാധനം എഴുതി വന്നിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരം അപ്പീൽക്കൊർട്ടുകാരറിടെ സാധനം എഴുതിവരിക കൊണ്ടു അതിന്മണ്ണം അച്ചുകൾ തീർപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന വകക്കു ചിലവുള്ള പണം അഞ്ചരയും കണക്കിൽ ചിലവെഴുതിക്കൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം നിദാനം വരുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 994-ാം മാണ്ടു മിഥുനമാസം 1-നു ദിവാൻ ജനാർദ്ദനരായർ വെംകിട്ടരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതിവിടൂ എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം

A Royal order, issued by Gowri Parvathi Bai, Regent of Travancore, prohibiting the fraudulent production of document for title deeds and giving instruction for the use of approved documents with official seals for executing the title deeds. This ofder reveals the importance given by the then administration for the maintenance of authentic records.

(Churuna No. 10, leaf No. 542, M.E. 994 Ani 12)

Document No.5



അഴിമതിക്കാരെ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിൽനിന്നു മാറ്റുന്നത് സംബന്ധിച്ച്

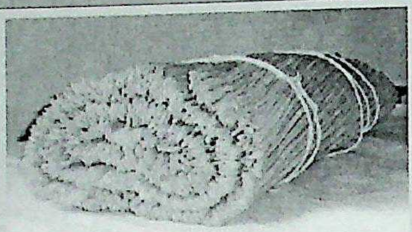
ചുരുണ: 19; ഓല: 131; നീട്ടുവാല്യം: 93; കൊ.വ. 1002 കുംഭമാസം 26

കൊടുത്തുട്ട സാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. ശുചീന്ദ്രത്തു ക്ഷെത്ര ത്തിൽ ഇയ്യാണ്ടു മാർകഴിമാസത്തിൽ ഉത്സവം വകക്കു കെട്ടികൊടുത്തതിൽ ഏതാനും പണം വലിയ ശീകാര്യക്കാറനും പിള്ളമാരും കൂടെ വ്യാജമായിട്ടു എടുത്തു മററും പല കൂട്ടം അഴിമതികളും നടത്തിയിരിക്കുന്ന സംഗതിക്കു ആയാളുകളെ ഒക്കെയും ഉദ്യൊഗത്തിൽ നിന്നും മാറ്റി കൊർട്ടിൽ ഏൽപ്പിച്ചു അതിനു പകരം വലിയ ശീകാര്യത്തിനു തിവട്ടാറു ക്ഷെത്രത്തിൽ ആനവാൾ മകരഭൂഷണൻ നാരായണനെ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു എഴുതി അയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നും ആ വകക്കു പതിവിൻപ്രകാരം മടക്കും നീട്ടും നാരായണന്റെ പെർക്കു പിടിപാടു നിനവും കൊടുത്തയക്കെണ്ടുന്ന അവ സ്ഥകൊണ്ടും എല്ലൊ എഴുതി വന്നതിലാകുന്നു. അതിന്മണ്ണം ശുചീന്ദ്രത്തു ക്ഷെത്ര ത്തിൽ വലിയ ശ്രീകാര്യത്തിനു നാരായണന്റെ പെർക്കു പിടിപാടു നിനവും ഈവ കക്കു കീഴിലെ പതിവിൻപ്രകാരം ശുചീന്ദ്രത്തു ക്ഷെത്രത്തിൽ സഭയിലവർകൾക്കു (പൊടിവ്) ഇതു ഇതിനൊടുകൂടി കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ആയതിനെ കൊടു ത്തയച്ചു അപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നു ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1002-ാമാണ്ടു കുംഭമാസം 26-ാം തീയതി ദിവാൻ ഗുണ്ടൊപണ്ഡിതർ വെംകിട്ടരാ യർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു കൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്ക കൊണ്ടു അപ്രകാരം പണം കൊടുത്തുകൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 998-ാംമാണ്ടു മകരമാസം 20-ാം തീയതി ദിവാൻ ഗുണ്ടൊ പണ്ഡിതർ വെംകി ട്ടരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം

A Nittu issued by Swathi Thirunal Rama Varma to punish the temple officials of Suchindram for committing corruption by relieving them from service and appointing a temple official of Thiruvallur Adikesava temple as the Valiya Srikaryakkar of Suchindram.

Document No.6



ഇറക്കുമതി ചെയ്യുന്ന പുകയിലയുടെ തീരുവ സംബന്ധിച്ച്

ചുരുണ: 40, ഓല: 78; നീട്ടുവാല്യം: 54, പുറം: 161; കെ.വ. 1023 തുലാം 12

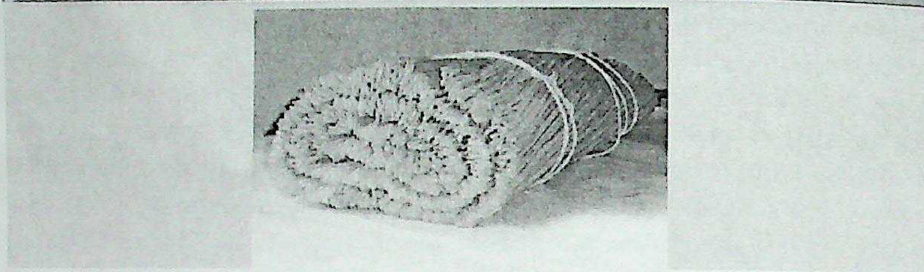
കൊടുത്തൂട്ട സാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കൊയംപുത്തൂരു നിന്നും വരുത്തുന്ന പുകയിലക്കു നൂറ്റിനു പത്തുവീതം ഇപ്പൊൾ കുമ്പിനിയിൽ തീരുവ കൊടുത്തു വരുന്നതും കൊച്ചിയിൽ സർക്കാരിലും കുമ്പിനിക്കും അതൃത്തികളിലുള്ള തീരുവകൾ നിറുത്തൽ ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടു മെൽ പറഞ്ഞ തീരുവ കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു കൊച്ചിയിൽ സർക്കാരിൽനിന്നും വിരൊധം പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരവും ഈ സർക്കാരിലും കൊച്ചിയിലും വടക്കൻ പുകയില വിക്കുന്നതിൽ നൂറ്റിനു പത്തുവീതം കുടിവിലയിൽ കുറയ്ക്കുന്നു എന്നു വരികിൽ ഗൗർണമെണ്ടിൽ നിന്നും ഇവക തീരുവയ്ക്കു ചൊദ്യം ചെയ്യുന്നതല്ലാത്തതും വിക്കുംവിലയിൽ അഞ്ചിനു ഒന്നുവീതം കുറവു ചെയ്യത്തക്കവണ്ണം കൊച്ചിയിൽ സർക്കാരിൽ നിന്നും സമ്മതിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതും ഈ സർക്കാരിലും മെൽപ്രകാരം സമ്മതിച്ചു അനുവദിപ്പാൻ ഒള്ളതുമാകുന്നു എന്നും റസിഡണ്ടു 1847-ാം വർഷം മാർച്ചി മാസം 8-നു എഴുതിയ കായിതം വന്നിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നും കുംപിനി വകയിൽ തീരുവയിൽ കുറയുന്ന രൂപാ കുടിവിലയിൽ കുറച്ചു കൊടുക്കയല്ലാതെ കൊച്ചിയിൽ സർക്കാരിൽ സമ്മതിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം ഇരട്ടിപ്പായിട്ടു നൂറ്റിനു ഇരുപതു വീതം കുടിവിലയിൽ കുറപ്പാൻ ഇടയില്ലായ്കകാണ്ടു കണക്കു നൊക്കിച്ചതിന്റെ ശെഷം പറവൂരു മുതലായ പണ്ടകശാലകളിൽ വിറ്റു മുതൽ വകയ്ക്കു കൊയംപുത്തൂരു നിന്നും 1021-ാമാണ്ടു തൂക്കി ഏറ്റിരിക്കുന്ന ഇംഗിലീഷു 640 റാത്തൽപ്പടി 470 കണ്ടിപ്പുകയിലക്കു കണ്ടി ഒന്നുക്കു 60 രൂപാ... (പൊടിവ്) പൈസയും 55 സെന്റും വിലയുള്ള വകയ്ക്കു നൂറ്റിനു പത്തുവീതം 6 രൂപായും 10 പൈസയ്ക്കു 25 സെന്റും വീതം 20658 1/2 പ്പണം തീരുവ കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നതു ഈ സർക്കാരിൽ വിറ്റുവരുന്ന മുറക്കു ലന്തീസു

റാത്തലിനു വീതിച്ചതിൽ റാത്തൽ ഒന്നിനു മാകാണി കാണി മുന്തിരിപ്പണം വീതം കുറവു വരുന്നതും ആയതു കുടിവിലയിൽ കുറക്ക എന്നുവച്ചാൽ ഇപ്പൊൾ റാത്തൽ ഒന്നിനു 2¼ മാകാണി അരമാകാണിപ്പണം വിലക്കുവിക്കുന്നതിൽ കാണിമുന്തിരിപ്പ ണംവീതം കുറച്ച് 2¼ കാണിമുന്തിരിപ്പണം വിലക്കു വിപ്പിക്കെണ്ടുന്നതുമായിട്ടു കണ്ടി രിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ അപ്രകാരം തീരുവയിൽ കുറവുവരുന്ന പണം കുടിവിലയിൽ കുറച്ചു വിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം നിദാനം വരെണ്ടുന്ന അവസ്ഥ കൊണ്ടല്ലൊ എഴുതി വന്നതിലാകുന്നു അതിന്മണ്ണം തന്നെ മെലെഴുതിയ പുകയിലക്കു ഇപ്പൊൾ റാത്തൽ ഒന്നിനു 2¼ മാകാണി അരമാകാണിപ്പണം വിലക്കു വിറ്റുവരുന്നതിൽ മാകാണി കാണി മുന്തിരിപ്പണം വീതം തീരുവയിൽ കുറവു വരുന്നതു കൂടിവിലയിൽ കുറച്ചു വിപ്പാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം ചട്ടം കെട്ടികൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1023-ാമാണ്ടു തുലാമാസം 12 നു ആക്ടിംഗു ദിവാൻ ലിംഗയ്യൻ കൃഷ്ണരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം

A Neettu issued during the reign of Uthram Thirunal Marthanda Varma, Maharaja of Travancore regarding the modification to be made in the existing taxes/ duties on tobacco import from Coimbatore. This provides information about the currency values, weight and measures etc. (Cadjan Churuna No. 40-leaf No. 78, Neettu volume 154, page 161, M.E. 1023 Thulam 12).

Document No.7



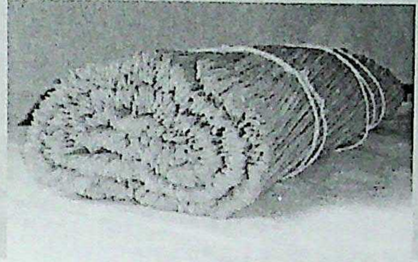
വനിതാജെയിൽ തുടങ്ങുന്നതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച്

ചുരുണ 40, ഓല: 230, നീട്ടുവാല്യം : 55, പുറം 122; കൊ.വ. 1023 മീനം 22

കൊടുത്തൂട്ട സാധനവും വായിച്ചുകെട്ടവസ്ഥയും അറിഞ്ഞു. കൃഷ്ണപുരം കൊർട്ടിൽ തടവുകാററായിട്ടുള്ള സ്ത്രീകളെ പാർപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും പണപ്പെട്ടകം മുതലായതു വച്ചു സൂക്ഷിക്കുന്ന വകയ്ക്കും സ്ഥലം ഇല്ലായ്കയാൽ സ്ത്രീ ജനങ്ങളെ പാർപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിനു ജെയിലിനു പടിഞ്ഞാറെ വശത്തു ഇംഗിലീഷു പള്ളിക്കൂടം ഇരിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തു ഒരു പുരമുറി ഒഴിഞ്ഞുകിടക്കുന്നതിന്റെ പടിഞ്ഞാറും തെക്കും വടക്കും ഒള്ള വാതിലുകൾ എടുപ്പിച്ചു കിഴക്കുവശത്തു ഒരു വാതലും പണപ്പെട്ടകം മുതലായതു വച്ചു സൂക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനു ജെയിലിന്റെ തെക്കെ തളത്തിൽ പടിഞ്ഞാറെ അറ്റത്തു ചുവരു കെട്ടിച്ചു അവിടെ ഒരു വാതലും ഇടുവിച്ച് കൊടുക്കെണമെന്നും അപ്പീൽ കൊർട്ടിൽ നിന്നു യാദാസ്തു വന്നു എഴുത്തു കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം ആ വക വെലകൾ ചെയ്യിച്ചു പട്ടിയൽക്കെടും തീർത്തു ഓടുമെയിക്കുന്ന വകയ്ക്കും റിക്കാടു പുരയുടെ ചൊർച്ചയും മാറ്റി ഒരു പെട്ടകവും തീർപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും 227 രൂപായും 1¼ പണവും വെണ്ടുന്നതിനു അടങ്കൾ കണ്ടെഴുതിയ വരോലയും സ്പെർമെസ്തർ ആറാം സ്രാങ്ങും കൊല്ലത്തു മണ്ടപത്തും വാതുക്കൽ തഹശീൽദാരനും എഴുതിയ സാധനവും വന്നിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരവും ആവക രൂപാക്കു 7 വിലയ്ക്കു 1590¼ പണം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു നിദാനം വരെണ്ടുന്ന അവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടും എല്ലൊ എഴുതിവന്നതിലാകുന്നു അതിൻമണ്ണം മെലെഴുതിയ വകയ്ക്കു 1590¼ പണം കൊടുക്കെണ്ടുന്നതിനു ഹജൂർ ഖജനാവിൽ ശ്രാപ്പു സുബ്ബനായ്ക്കന്റെ പെർക്കു എഴുതിയിട്ടുള്ള നിനവു ഇതിനൊടു കൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു അപ്രകാരം ഈ വക പണികൾ വേഗത്തിൽ കഴിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം ചട്ടംകെട്ടി കൊള്ളുകയും വെണം എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1023-ാമാണ്ടു മീനമാസം 22-നു ദിവാൻ ലിംഗയ്യൻ കൃഷ്ണരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതി വിടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

A Neettu (Royal Mal)issued during the reign of Uthram Thirunal Marthanda Varma. Maharaja of Travancore. regarding the construction of a Women jail at Krishnapuram (Cadjan-Churuna No.40-leaf No. 230, Neettu Vol. 55, p. 122. M.E.,1023 Meenam 22)

Document No.8



ജഡ്ജിസ്ഥാനത്തുള്ളവർ കയ്ക്കൂലി വാങ്ങിയതും ശിക്ഷയും

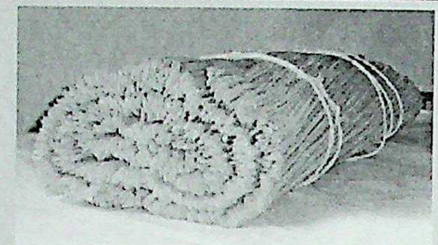
ചുരുണ: 53 ഓല: 4, നീട്ടുവാല്യം: 67 പുറം 4 കൊ.വ. 1035 കന്നി 3

തിരുവനന്തപുരം കൊർട്ടിൽ 1033-ാം മാണ്ടു വക സർക്കാർ പൊലിസു 74-ാം നമ്പരു സംഗതിക്കു ഹെതുവായ കള്ള ഒപ്പിട്ട എഴുത്തിനെ കൊർട്ടുകാററു ബന്തൊബസ്തായി സൂക്ഷിക്കാതെ മാറുപാടു ചെയ്വാൻ ഇട വരുത്തുകയും അദാല വ്യവഹാരത്തിൽ ഒടു വകയ്ക്കു വാദിയെ കവളിപ്പിച്ചു രാജിനാമാ എഴുതിച്ചു ഒപ്പിടുവിക്കുകയും മറ്റൊരു നംപരിലെയ്ക്കു ഒന്നാം ജഡ്ജിയും ശാസ്ത്രികളും കയ്ക്കൂലി വാങ്ങിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തതായിട്ടു പരാതികൾ വന്നു. അക്കാര്യത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു എഴുതി വന്ന മറുപടി അയച്ചിരുക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം ഒന്നാം ജഡ്ജി രംഗയ്യനെ സസ്പെണ്ടു ചെയ്തു. അയാളെയും രണ്ടാം ജഡ്ജിയെയും ശാസ്ത്രികളെയും വരുത്തി വിസ്തരിച്ചതിൽ തെളിവുകണ്ടു ഒന്നാം ജഡ്ജിയെതിരെ മാറ്റുന്നതിനും രണ്ടാം ജഡ്ജിയെക്കൊണ്ടു 300 രൂപായും ശാസ്ത്രികളെക്കൊണ്ടു നൂറുരൂപായും പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം കെട്ടിവയ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും നിശ്ചയിച്ചു. യാദാസ്തു എഴുതിയിരിക്കുന്ന സംഗതിക്കു ഒന്നാമതു ഈ വകയ്ക്കു റസിഡണ്ടിനു എഴുതി അയച്ചതിനു മറുപടി വന്നിരിക്കുന്ന വിവരത്തിനു പിന്നീടും എഴുതി വന്നു ഒന്നാം ജഡ്ജിയായിരുന്ന രംഗയ്യനെ ഉദ്യൊഗത്തിൽ നിന്നു നീക്കുകയും ശെഷം യാദാസ്തു പ്രകാരം നടത്തിക്കയും ചെയ്യന്നതിനു നാം പറഞ്ഞ സംഗതിക്കു പൌസുദാർ കമ്മീഷനർ ചുടലമുത്തുപ്പിള്ളയിടെ സാധനം ചെന്നിരിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ ഒന്നാം ജഡ്ജി ഉദ്യൊഗത്തിനു ആളു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു ആക്കി നടത്തിക്കുന്നതിനു നിദാനം വരണമെന്നും അപ്പീൽ കൊർട്ടുകാററിടെ സാധനം വന്നിരിക്കക്കൊണ്ടു അതിന്മണ്ണം തിരുവനന്തപുരം കൊർട്ടിൽ ഒന്നാം ജഡ്ജി ഉദ്യൊഗത്തിനു ഇവിടെ സംകടം വിചാരിപ്പിൽ ശിരസ്തഗൊവിന്ദൻ പത്മനാഭനെ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു ചിങ്ങമാസം 12-നു പിടിപാടു സാധനം കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ പതിവുള്ള ശമ്പളം തീരുവ എഴുതികൊടുപ്പിച്ചു കൊള്ളുകയും വെണം. ഈ സംഗതിക്കു അപ്പീൽ കൊർട്ടുകാററുക്കും സാധനം കൊടുത്തയച്ചിട്ടും ഒണ്ട് എന്നും ഇക്കാര്യം ചൊല്ലി 1035-ാംമാണ്ടു കന്നിമാസം 3-നു ദിവാൻ രംഗരായരു മാധവരായർക്കു നീട്ടു എഴുതിവിടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു.

തുല്യം

A royal record which reflects the existence of Corrept of practices in judiciary and the way of handling such cases by the head of the state in those days. Maharaja Uthram Thirunal was supposed to issue this order through Cadjan record-Churuna No. 53 leaf 4 Neetu volume 67 page 4 M.E. 1035 kanni 3.

Document No.9



TRAVANCORE STUDENTS ABROAD

(Indian students in London - 1932 AD)

The Document given below is taken from file No: 1467 of 1932 - Confidential Section Records from the Directorate of State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram. It throws lights on the financial conditions of students of Travancore in London.

Indian students in London ordinarily reside in the Student' Residential quarters or taken their lodging with some English family. Of the student's quarters, 112, Gower Street is the most popular institution, perhaps because it provides the lease disciplinary control over the students. 12, Beaufort Gardens is another of the residential quarters but it is run on a very small scale compared to the Gower Street institution. The only place which provides for any sort of disciplinary control is 21, Cromwell Road and as a rule, our students avoid this institution. Most of the Travancore students reside in families and their quarters are generally in Stroudgreen ad Finsbury Park. These families are, many of them, strictly speaking, boarding houses; and students reside here in groups of three and four. They are looked after with great kindness and consideration and they feel perfectly well and happy.

2. Whether he lives in one of the residential quarters or with families, the life of the Indian student in London is practically one of isolation from the best aspects of English life. Even these who live with families generally spend their leisure hours a 112, Gower Street which I s sort of "India in London". The average student seems to have neither the desire nor the facilities for healthy participation in the best aspects of English life. Neither the hostels nor other quarters which are the favourite resort of Indian students provide opportunities for any close association with Englishmen in sports and pastimes

or in the more serious fields of study and social service. It is but inevitable that students who have a common language and common culture have a tendency to keep companionship and form an association among themselves. But in doing so, they should not forego the benefit which life and study in foreign countries is expected to confer on them. In fact, a casual visit to 112, Gower Street will reveal the conditions of, tay, a students' hostel run at Trivandrum without any supervision or guidance from any controlling hand. The risks attendant on such hostel life are greater in a city like London than in Travncore. The students who are in Residential Universities alone generally seem to establish useful contact with English life. It is very satisfactory to note that the realities of the situation are becoming more and more apparent even to Indian students in London, and there has been an awakening in recent to establish closer association between the Indian students and the best English minds. The Committee and Officers of the English and Welsh University Unions propose to discuss the problems affecting the moral, physical and intellectual welfare of Indian students at the various British Universities, and it is hoped that the situation will improve considerably as a result of these discussions.

3 Financial condition of students

There are three classes of students in London whose condition requires the attention of Government. Firstly, there are those who proceed to foreign countries without adequate financial resources and who after a time find themselves unable to prosecute their studies. They strive to maintain themselves by appeals to charity and their case is really hard. Secondly, there are students who have strong financial backing at home but who have forfeited the sympathy of their guardians-and naturally, also remittances from hope-by their own misconduct abroad during the earlier years of stay. They are now anxious to turn over a new leaf and return home after taking some degree or other. But they are unable to convince their guargdians of the bonafides of such attempts and do not therefore command the resources which are necessary to complete their studies and return home. Thirdly, there are who proceeded to London without any definite aim or who having gone over to London for higher studies, have been misled into bad ways of life. They undergo no course of instruction or training in any institution and have no inclination either, to return to their homes.

4. The whole matter was discussed at great length with the High Commissioner for India. The High Commissioner is of the view that the only practical steps that Government can take are:

(1) stiffening the procedure relating to the issue of passports; and

(2) carrying on propoganda work among the people, explaining to them the need for exercising greater discretion in the matter of sending students to foreign countries.

5. Relating to the issue of passports, no absolute rule, however, can be laid down. But it may be made known that unless Government are satisfied that the student proceeding to England can command sufficient financial backing, Government will refuse to recommend the issue of passport. Similarly when Government are satisfied on sufficient authority that the conduct and antecedents of particular student are such as render. It undesirable that he should be allowed to proceed to England, Government may reuse the recommendation for the issue of passport. Such restrictions can hardly be effective, for. In many cases Government may not feel justified in refusing recommendation on the data before them and it may very well be that the student becomes involved in financial difficulties after he has gone over to England. But this is all that Government can possibly do to avoid the chances of people with inadequate financial resources proceeding to England.

6. In the course of my interview with the High Commissioner he told me that at present most of the educational institutions in London forward to him all applications for admission from Indian students and that they are generally admitted at the recommendation made by him. Oxford and Cambridge are, however, prominent exceptions to this rule. These two being autonomous institutions, the admission of students does not depend on the recommendation of the High Commissioner. It was suggested. However, that in the case of all applications from Travancore students it may be made known that Travancore students can expect admission in colleges abroad only if their eligibility is recommended by the Travancore Government. F or this purpose Government may enter into close touch with the High Commissioner and college authories abroad. Although colleges may not be bound by the recommendation made by the Travancore Government, the existence of such a provision will have a great moral effort.

7. It may, however, be observed that to insist on a recommendation from the High Commissioner for admission will be viewed with disfavour by the student population. I was told by students in London that even now the High Commissioner does not view with sympathy many of the applications for admission and very often students are anxious to avoid the High Commissioner, and manage to gain admission by recommendations from other quarters. But the case is different when Travancore students who seek admission are obliged to produce the recommendation from the

Travancore government only, although even this may be resented as an unnecessary intervention by Government. But in the interests of students and also guardings such a step may seem very desirable. The system may be given a trial and Travancore Government may inform college authorities abroad that Travancore students applying for admission should satisfy the authorities that they possess the necessary recommendation in this behalf from the Travancore Government as to their equipment and financial resources. In any event this will exercise a healthy control over the emigration of students to England.

8. The High Commissioner thinks that no steps taken by Government can be very effective 'for the ends in view. The only practical step which Government can take on the matter is, according to him, the carrying on of propaganda work among the people dissuading them from sending out ill-equipped students on a course of expensive training in foreign universities. This suggestion may usefully be accepted.

9. The case of students who, though desirious of prosecuting their studies are unable to do so for want of support from home, deserves some consideration at the hands of the Government. Where the guardians are still financially able to support the students, Government may get into touch with the High Commissioner and ascertain whether the students are really earnest about their studies and whether they deserve any assistance and if favourably recommended, the guardians here may be persuaded to lend the students the necessary help so as to enable them to complete their studies and come back. Where, however, the guardians are too poor to make any further contribution, Government may show some consideration by advancing on proper security a loan on easy terms sufficient to enable the student to complete his course and return. Such cases, however, are happily rare and the few cases, if any, deserve attention.

10. In the case of students who have squandered their moneys and who have gone into bad ways, Government cannot do much either to help them out of the present situation or to avoid such happenings. Such students are generally unwilling to return home and they are a discredit to themselves and to their country.

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